JASPER HEYWOOD'S TRANSLATION OF SENECA'S THYESTES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LATTER'S SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECEPTION AND THE THEMES OF TYRANNY, KINGSHIP AND REVENGE

2 VOLUMES: VOLUME ONE:

PRELIMINARY MATERIAL

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for my parents

without whom this would not have been possible

CONTENTS

Melpomene oſtendit numeros quicis cęna Thyeſtę,
Et lachrymę Electrę, et meſtę lamẽta Eryphiles,
Progncs olla quibus, quibus Oetheię dolores
Deſcribi Tragico poſſent inſtructa cothurno.

F. E.

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SUMMARY

The thesis offers a critcial analysis of the transmission of Seneca's *Thyestes* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In Volume I, the 1584 Gryphius edition of Seneca's *Thyestes*; the 1560 edition of Heywood's translation of the play and the 1674 edition of Wright's translation and burlesque version have been transcribed. This is the first time that these texts have been presented together for discussion.

The commentary (Volume II) examines a broad range of dramatic material including Neo- Latin plays such as Goldingham's *Herodes* (1570/80); Gwinne's *Nero* (1603); Snelling's *Thibaldus* (1640) and the anonymous *Stoicus Vapulans* (1648). Prose works considered include the Latin lexicas and grammars of Lilly and Whitinton; philosophical treatises such as Reynolds *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (1640); and religious works such as *Hooper on the Ten Commandments* (1560). It presents hitherto unpublished material- MS Sloane 1041; and material that has previously received little attention- the Hendrik Goltzius' engraving of Melpomene (1592) and the Restoration *Mock-Thyestes in Burlesque*.

Research material was consulted at the British Library; BL Department of Manuscripts; BL Print Room; University of Warwick Library; University of Birmingham Library; Senate House Library, University of London; The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; The Warburg Institute and The Institute of Classical Studies.

[Appendix: early- modern texts of the *Thyestes* and the *Mock- Thyestes* :

Thyestes, Latin text, Gryphius edition, London, 1584.

Thyestes, translated by Heywood, London, 1560.

Thyestes, translated by Wright and Wright's *Mock-Thyestes*, printed together, London, 1674.

Although these texts have the status of Appendices, they are placed here for the convenience of the reader.]

NOTE TO THE TEXTS

The texts have been reproduced diplomatically. The errata from leaf [A6v.] of Wright have been incorporated into the body of the text. Standard abbreviations and diphthongs have been silently expanded. Long 's' has been normalised; 'u' and 'v', 'i' and 'j' have been preserved throughout and typographical usage retained.

Signatures have been preserved: square brackets denote signatures deduced and supplied in logical sequence. Page numbers are indicated in square brackets. Lineation has been added. Title pages have been transcribed.

L. ANNAEI

SENECAE

CORDVBENSIS

TRAGOEDIAE.

Maoire, quam antehac, cura & diligentia
recognitae, & emendatiores redditae.

[EMBLEM: GRYPHON, WITH MOTTO
VIRTUTE DVCE,
COMITE FORTVNA.]

LVGDVNI,
APVD ANT. GRYPHIVM

M.D.LXXXIV.

THYESTES
TRAGOEDIA
SECVNDA.

ARGVMENTVM.

Cogit, excitatque ab inferis Megaera, ex furiis una, Tantalum, olim Phrygiae regem, ad odia commiscendia inter duos fratres, Thyestem et Atreum, nepotes eius, qui Mycenis alternis annis regnauerant. At Atreus furiis agitatus, consilio cum seruo inito, deliberat, quo pacto vindictam de fratre fumat, quod dolis Aeropen sibi coniugem constuprarit, quodque arietem aurei velleris surripuerit. Igitur ab Atreo simulata reconciliatione, Thyesti reuocato Mycenis, et inscio, apponuntur in conuiuio sui filij epulandi. Postremo cum etiam sanguinem illorum in patera propinasset Atreus, iussit demum afferri capita: queis visis et agnitis deflet quidem Thyestes, sed Atreus quod vindicta processerit, oblectatur.

INTERLOCVTORES.

TANTALVS. MEGAERA.

ATREVS. SERVVS.

THYESTES. PLISTENES.

NVNCIVS. CHORVS. / [55]

ACTVS PRIMVS

TANTALVS. MEGAERA.
Trimetri Iambici.

Qvis me furor nunc sede ab infausta abstrahit;
Auido fugaces ore captantem cibos?
Quis male deorum Tantalo viuas domos
Ostendit iterum? peius inuentum est siti
Arente in vndis aliquid, et peius fame
Hiante semper? Sisyphi nunquid lapis
Gestandus humeris lubricus nostris venit?
Aut membra celeri differens cursu rota?
Aut poena Tityi semper accresiens iecur
Visceribus atras pascet effossis aues?
Et nocte reparans quicquid amisit die,
Plenum recenti pabulum monstro iacet.
In quod malum transcribor? o quisquis noua
Supplicia functis durus vmbrarum arbiter
Disponis, adde siquid ad poenas potes,
Quod ipse custos carceris diri horreat,
Quod moestus Acheron paueat, ad cuius metum
Nos quoque tremamus, quaere: iam nostra subit
E stirpe turba, quae suum vincat genus,
Ac me innocentem faciat, et inausa audeat
Regione, quicquid impia cessat loci,
Complebo: nunquam, stante Pelopea domo,
Minos vacabit.

ME.
Perge detestabilis
Vmbra, et penates impios furijs age,
Certetur omni scelere, et altema vice / [56]
Stringantur enses: nec sit irarum modus,
Pudorve: mentes caecus instiget furor:
Rabies parentum duret, et longum nefas
Eat in nepotes: nec vacet cuiquam vetus
Odisse crimen, semper oriatur nouum,
Nec vnum in vno, dumque; punitur, scelus
Crescat, superbis fratribus regna excidant,
Repetantque; profugos: dubia violentae domus
Fortuna reges inter incertos labet:
Miser ex potente fiat, ex misero potens,

Fluctuque; regnum casus assiduo ferat:
Ob scelera pulsi, cum dabit patriam Deus,
In scelera redeant, sintque; tam inuisi omnibus,
Quam sibi: nihil sit, ira quod vetitum putet.
Fratrem expauescat frater, et natum parens,
Gnatusque patrem, liberi pereant male,
Peius tamen nascantur: immineat viro
Infesta coniux, bella trans pontum vehant,
Effusus omnes irriget terras cruor!
Supraque; magnos gentium exultet duces
Libido victrix: impia stuprum in domo
Leuissimum sit: fratris et fas, et fides,
Iusque; omne pereat: non sit a vestris malis
Immune coelum, cum micant stellae polo,
Flammaeque; seruant debitum mundo decus:
Nox atra fiat, excidat coelo dies.
Misce penates: odia, caedes, funera
Accerse, et imple scelere Tantaleam domum.
Ometur altum columen, et lauro fores / [57]
Laetae virescant: dignus aduentu tuo
Splendescat ignis: Thracium fiat nefas
Maiore numero: dextra cur patrui vacat?
Nondum Thyestes liberos deflet suos?
Ecquando tollet ignibus iam subditis
Spumante aheno? membra per partes eant
Discerpta, patrios polluat sanguis focos,
Epulae instruantur, non noui sceleris tibi
Conuiua venies, liberum dedimus diem,
Tuamque ad istas soluimus mensas famem.
Ieiunia exple, mistus in Bacchum cruor
Spectante te potetur: inueni dapes,
Quas ipse fugeres: siste, quo praeceps ruis?

TAN.
Ad stagna, et amnes, et recedetes aquas,
Labrisque; ab ipsis arboris plenae fugas:
Abire in atrum carceris liceat mei
Cubile: liceat, si parum videor miser,
Mutare ripas: alueo medius tuo
Phlegethon relinquar, igneo cinctus freto.
Quicunque poenas lege fatorum datas.
Pati iuberis: quisquis exeso iaces
Pauidus sub antro quique venturi times
Montis ruinam: quisquis auidorum feros
Rictus leonum, et dira furiarum agmina
Implicitus horres: quisquis immissas faces
Semiustus abigis, Tantali vocem excipe
Properantis ad vos: credite experto mihi,
Amate poenas: quando continget mihi

Effugere superos?

ME.
Ante perturba domum, / [58]
Inferque; tecum praelia, et ferri malum
Regibus amorem: concute insano ferum
Pectus tumultu.

TAN.
Me pati poenas decet,
Non esse poenam: mittor ut dirus vapor
Tellure rupta, vel grauem populis luem
Sparsura pestis: ducam in horrendum nefas
Auus nepotes? magne diuorum parens,
Nosterque quamuis pudeat, ingenti licet
Taxata poena lingua crucietur, loquar,
Nec hoc tacebo: moneo, ne sacra manus
Violata caede, ne ve furiali malo
Aspergat aras: stabo, et arcebo scelus.
Quid ora terres verbere et tortos ferox
Minaris angues? quid famem infixam intimis
Agitas medullis? flagrat incensum siti
Cor, et perustis flamma visceribus micat.
Sequor.

ME.
Nunc o furorem diuide in totam domum.
Sic sic ferantur, et suum infensi inuicem
Sitiant cruorem sensit introitus tuos
Domus, et nefando tota contactu horruit.
Actum est abunde. gradere ad infemos specus,
Amnemque notum: iam tuo moestae pede
Terrae grauantur. cemis vt fontes liquor
Introsus actus linquat? vt ripae vacent?
Ventusque raras igneus nubes ferat?
Pallescit omnis arbos, ac nudus stetit
Pugiente pomo ramus: et qui fluctibus
Illinc propinquis Isthmos, atque illinc fremit,
Vicina gracili diuidens terra vada, / [59]
Longe remotos latus exaudit sonos.
Iam Lerna retrocessit, et Phoronides.
Latuere venae, nec suas profert sacras
Alpheus vndas, et Cithaeronis iuga
Stant parte nulla cana, deposita niue,
Timentque; veterem nobiles agri sitim.*
En ipse Titan dubitat, an iubeat sequi,
Cogatque; habenis ire periturum diem.

* l. ex mss. Argi.

CHORVS.
Choriambici, Asclepiadei.

Argos de superis siquis Achaicum,
Pisaeasque; domos turribus inclytas,
Isthmi, si quis amat regna Corinthii,
Et portus geminos, et mare dissidens:
Si quis Taygeti conspicuas niues,
Quas cum Sarmaticus tempore frigido
In summis Boreas composuit iugis,
Aestas veliferis solvit Etegijs;
Quem tangit gelido, flumine lucidus
Alpheus, stadio notus Olympico:
Aduertat placidum numen, et arceat
Alternae scelerum ne redeant vices,
Neu succedat auo deterior nepos,
Et maior placeat culpa minoribus.
Tandem lassa feros exuat impetus
Sicci progenies impia Tantali
Peccatum satis est: fas valuit, nihil,
Aut commune nefas: proditus occidit
Deceptor dominae Myrtilus: et fide / [60]
Vectus qua tulerat, nobile reddidit
Mutato pelagus nomine: notior
Nulla est Ionijs fabula nauibus.
Exceptus gladio paruulus impio,
Dum currit patrium natus ad osculum,
Immatura focis victima concidit,
Diuisusque tua est Tantale dextera,
Mensas vt strueres hospitibus Deis.
Hos aeterna fames persequitur cibos,
Hos aeterna sitis: nec dapibus feris
Decerni potuit poena decentior.
Stat lusus vacuo gutture Tantalus,
Impendet capiti plurima noxio
Phineis auibus praeda fugacior,
Hinc illinc grauidis frondibus incubat,
Et curuata suis foetibus, ac tremens.
Alludit patulis arbor hiatibus.
Haec, quamuis auidus, nec patiens morae,
Deceptus toties tangere negligit,
Obliquatque oculos, oraque comprimit,
Inclusisque; famem dentibus alligat:
Sed tunc diuitias omne nemus suas
Demittit propius, pomaque desuper

Insultant folijs mitia languidis,
Accenduntque famem, quae iubet irritas
Exercere manus: has vbi protulit,
Et falli libuit, totus in arduum
Autumnus rapitur, siluaque mobilis.
Instat deinde sitis non leuior fame, / [61]
Qua cum percaluit sanguis, et igneis
Exarsit facibus, stat miser obuios
Fluctus ore vocans, quos profugus latex
Auertit, sterili deficiens vado,
Conantemque sequi deserit: hic bibit
Altum de rapido gurgite puluerem.

ACTVS SECVNDVS.

ATREVS, SERVVS.
Trimetri Iambici.

Ignaue, iners, eneruis, et (quod maximum
Probrum tyranno rebus in summis reor)
Inulte, post tot scelera, post fratris dolos,
Fasque; omne ruptum questubus vanis agis
Iras: at Argos, fremere iam totum tuis
Debebat armis, omneis et geminum mare
Innare classeis: iam tuis flammis agros
Lucere, et vrbes decuit, ac strictum vndique
Micare ferrum. tota sub nostro sonet
Argolica tellus equite? non silvae tegant
Hostem, nec altis montium structae iugis
Arces: relictis bellicum totus canat
Populus Mycenis, quisquis inuisum caput
Tegit, ac tuetur, clade funesta occidat.
Haec ipsa pollens inclyti Pelopis domus
Ruat vel in me, dummodo in fratrem ruat.
Age anime, fac quod nulla posteritas probet,
Sed nulla taceat: aliquod audendum est nefas
Atrox, cruentum, tale, quod frater meus / [62]
Suum esse malit. scelera non vlcisceris,
Nisi vincis. et quid esse tam saeuum potest,
Quod superet illum? nunquid abiectus iacet?
Nunquid secundis patitur in rebus modum,
Fessis quietem? novi ego ingenium viri
Indocile: flecti non potest, frangi potest.
Proinde antequam se firmet, aut vires paret,
Petatur vltro, ne quiescentem petat.

Aut perdet, aut peribit: in medio est scelus
Positum occupanti.

SER.
Fama te populi nihil
Aduersa terret?

ATR.
Maximum hoc regni bonum est,
Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
Quam ferre, tam laudare.

SER.
Quos cogit metus
Laudare, eosdem reddit inimicos metus:
At qui fauoris gloriam veri petit,
Animo magis, quam voce laudari volet.

ATR.
Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro,
Non nisi potenti falsa: quod nolunt, velint.

SER.
Rex velit honesta, nemo non eadem volet.

ATR.
Vbicunque; tantum honesta dominanti licent,
Precario regnatur.

SER.
Vbi non est pudor,
Nec cura iuris, sanctitas, pietas, fides,
Instabile regnum est.

ATR.
Sanctitas, pietas, fides,
Priuata bona sunt: qua iuuat, reges eant.

SER.
Nefas nocere vel malo fratri puta.

ATR.
Fas est in illum, quidquid in fratrem est nefas.
Quid enim reliquit crimine intactum? aut vbi
Sceleri pepercit? coniugem stupro abstulit,
Regnumque furto specimen antiquum imperi
Fraude est adeptus, fraude turbauit domum.
Est Pelopis altis nobile in stabulis pecus,
Arcanus Aries, ductor opulenti gregis,

Huius per omne corpus infuso coma
Dependet auro, cuius e tergo noui
Aurata reges sceptra Tantalici gerunt.
Possessor huius regnat: hunc tantae domus
Fortuna sequitur: tuta seposita sacer
In parte carpit prata, quae cludit lapis
Fatale saxeo pecus muro tegens.
Hunc (facinus ingens ausus) assumpta in scelus
Consorte nostri perfidus thalami, abuehit:
Hinc omne cladis mutuae fluxit malum:
Per regna trepidus exul errauit mea:
Pars nulla nostri tuta ab insidijs vacat.
Corrupta coniux, imperij quassa est fides,
Domus aegra, dubius sanguis est, certi nihil,
Nisi frater hostis. quid stupes? tandem incipe,
Animoque sume Tantalum, et Pelopem aspice:
Ad haec manus exempla poscuntur meae:
Profare, dirum qua caput mactem via.

SER.
Ferro peremptus spiritum inimicum expuat,

ATR.
De fine poenae loqueris, ego poenam volo.
Perimat tyrannus: lenis in regno meo
Mors impetretur?

SER.
Nulla te pietas mouet?

ATR.
Excede pietas, si modo in nostra domo
Vnquam fuisti: dira Furiarum cohors,
Discorsque Erinnys veniat, et geminas faces
Megaera quatiens: non satis magno meum
Ardet furore pectus: impleri iuuat
Maiore monstro.

SER.
Quid noui rabidus struis.

ATR.
Nil, quod doloris capiat assueti modum.
Nullum relinquam facinus, et nullum est satis.

SER.
Ferrum?

ATR.
Parum est.

SER.
Quid ignis.

ATR.
Etiamnum parum est.

SER.
Quonam ergo telo tantus vtetur dolor?

ATR.
Ipso Thyeste.

SER.
Maius est ira hoc malum.

ATR.
Fateor, tumultus pectora attonitus quatit,
Penitusque; voluit: rapior, et quo nescio,
Sed rapior: imo mugit e fundo solum,
Tonat dies serenus, ac totis domus,
Vt fracta, testis crepuit, et moti lares
Vertere vultum: fiat hoc, fiat nefas,
Quod dij timetis.

SER.
Facere quid tandem paras?

ATR.
Nescio quid animus maius, et solito amplius
Supraque; fines mori humani tumet,
Instatque; pigris manibus: haud, quid sit, scio.
Sed grande quiddam est: ita sit: hoc anime incipe.
Dignum est Thyeste facinus, et dignum Atreo:
Vterque faciat. vidit infandas domus
Odrysia mensis. fateor, immane est scelus,
Sed occupatum. maius hoc aliquid dolor
Inueniat, animum filij inspira parens,
Sororque, causa est similis: assiste, et manum
Impelle nostram: liberos auidus parens,
Gaudensque; laceret, et suos artus edat.
Bene est, abunde est, hic placet poenae modus
Tantisper vbinam est? tam diu cur innocens / [65]
Versatur Atreus? tota iam ante oculos meos
Imago caedis errat, ingesta orbitas
In ora patris. anime, quid rursus times,

Et ante rem subsidis? audendum est, age.
Quod est in isto scelere praecipuum nefas,
Hoc ipse faciat.

SER.
Sed quibus captus dolis;
Nostros dabit perductus in laqueos pedem?
Inimica credit cuncta.

ATR.
Non poterit capi,
Nisi capere vellet regna nunc sperat mea:
Hac spe, minanti fulmen occurret Ioui:
Hac spe subibit gurgitis tumidi minas,
Dubiumque; Libycae Syrtis intrabit fretum:
Hac spe (quod esse maximum retur malum)
Fratrem videbit.

SER.
Quis fidem pacis dabit?
Cui tanta credet?

ATR.
Credula est spes improba,
Gnatis tamen mandata, quae patruo ferant,
Dabimus: relictis exul hospitiis vagus
Regno vt miserias mutet, atque Argos regat
Ex parte dominus: si nimis durus preces
Spernet Thyestes, liberos eius rudes,
Malisque; fessos gravibus, et faciles capi
Preces mouebunt: hinc vetus regni furor,
Illinc egestas tristis, hinc durus labor,
Quamvis rigentem tot malis subigent virum.

SER.
Iam tempus illi fecit aerumnas leues.

ATR.
Erras: malorum sensus accrescit die:
Leue est miserias ferre, perferre graue.

SER.
Alios ministros consiliis istis lege.

ATR.
Peiora iuuenes facile praecepta audiunt. / [66]

SER.
In patre facient, quicquid in patruo doces:

Saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua.

ATR.
Vt nemo doceat fraudis, et sceleris vias,
Regnum docebit. ne mali fiant, times?
Nascuntur. istud, quod vocas saeuum, asperum,
Agique; dure credis, et nimium impie.
Fortasse et illic agitur.

SER.
Hanc fraudem scient
Nati parari,tacita tam rudibus fides
Non est in annis, detegent forsan dolos.

ATR.
Tacere multis discitur vitae malis.

SER.
Ipsosne, per quos fallere alium cogitas,
Falles?

ATR.
At ipsi crimine, et culpa vaceni.
Quid enim est necesse liberos sceleri meo
Inserere? per nos odia se nostra explicent.
Male agis, recedis anime: si parcis tuis,
Parces et illi consilij Agamemnon mei
Sciens minister fiat, et patris cliens
Menelaus adsit. prolis incertae fides,
Ex hoc petatur scelere: si bella abnuunt,
Et gerere nolunt odia, si patruum vocant,
Pater est, eatur. multa sed trepidus solet
Detegere vultus, magna nolentem quoque
Consilia produnt: nesciant quantae rei
Fiant ministri. nostra tu coepta occule.

SER.
Haud sum monendus: ista nostro in pectore
Fides, timorque, sed magis claudit fides.

CHORVS
Glyconicum carmen. / [67]

Tandem regia nobilis,
Antiqui genus Inachi,

Fratrum composuit minas.
Quis vos exagitat furor,
Altemis dare sanguinem,
Et sceptrum scelere aggredi?
Nescitis, cupidi arcium,
Regnum quo iaceat loco.
Regem non faciunt opes,
Non vestis Tyriae color,
Non frontis notae regiae,
Non auro nitidae trabes.
Rex est, qui posuit metus,
Et diri mala pectoris:
Quem non ambitio inpotens,
Et nunquam stabilis fauor
Vulgi praecipitis mouet.
Non quicquid fodit Occidens,
Aut vnda Tagus aurea
Claro deuehit alueo:
Non quicquid Libycis terit
Feruens area messibus.
Quem non concutiet cadens
Obliqui via fulminis:
Non Eurus rapiens mare,
Aut saeuo rapidus freto
Ventosi tumor Adriae:
Quem non lancea militis,
Non strictus domuit chalybs: / [68]
Qui tuto positus loco,
Infra se videt omnia,
Occurritque suo libens
Fato, nec queritur mori.
Reges conueniant licet,
Qui sparsos agitant Dacas,
Qui rubri vada littoris,
Aut gemmis mare lucidum
Late sanguineum tenent,
Aut qui Caspia fortibus
Recludunt iuga Sarmatis:
Certet Danubium licet,
Audet qui pedes ingredi,
Et quocunque loco iacent
Seres vellere nobiles.
Mens regnum bona possidet:
Nil vllis opus est equis,
Nil armis, et inertibus
Telis, quae procul ingerit
Parthus, cum simulat fugas.
Admotis nihil est opus
Vrbes sternere machinis

Longe saxa rotantibus:
Rex est, qui metuit nihil.
Hoc regnum sibi quisque dat.
Stet, quicunque volet, potens
Aulae culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies,
Obscuro positus loco
Leni perfruar otio.
Nullis nota Quiritibus
Aetas per tacitum fluat,
Sic cum transierint mei
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar senex.
Illi mors grauis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.

ACTVS TERTIVS

THYESTES. PLISTHENES.
Trimetri Iambici.

Optata patriae tecta, et Argolicas opes,
Miseriisque; summum, ac maximum exulibus bonum,
Tactum soli natalis, et patrios deos,
(si sunt tamen dii) cerno, Cyclopum sacras
Turres, labore maius humano decus,
Celebrata iuueni stadia, per quae nobilis
Palmam paterno non semel curru tuli.
Occurret Argos, populus occurret frequens:
Sed nempe et Atreus repete syluestres fugas,
Saltusque densos potius, et mistam feris,
Similemque; vitam. clarus hic regni nitor
Fulgore non est, quod oculos falso auferat.
Cum quid datur spectabis, et dantem aspice.
Modo inter illa, quae putant cuncti aspera,
Fortis fui, laetusque; nunc contra in metus
Reuoluor, animus haeret, ac retro cupit
Corpus referre, moueo nolentem gradum.

PLI.
Pigro (quid hoc est?) genitor incessu stupet,
Vultumque; versat, seque; in incerto tenet.

THY.
Quid anime, pendes? quid ve consilium diu
Tam facile torques? rebus incertissimis
Fratri, atque regno credis? ac metuis mala
Iam victa, iam mansueta? et aerumnas fugis
Bene collocatas? esse iam miserum iuuat?
Deflecte gressum, dum licet, teque eripe.

PLI.
Quae causa cogit genitor a patria gradum
Referre visa? cur bonis tantis sinum
Subducis? ira frater abiecta redit,
Partemque; regni reddit, et lacerae domus
Componit artus, teque restituit tibi.

THY.
Causam timoris, ipse quam ignoro, exigis.
Nihil timendum video, sed timeo tamen:
Placet ire, pigris membra sed genibus labant,
Alioque;, quam quo nitor, abductus feror:
Sic concitatam remige, et vento ratem.
Aestus resistens remigi et velo refert.

PLI.
Peruince quicquid obstat, et mentem impedit,
Reducemque quanta praemia expectent, vide,
Pater potest regnare.

THY.
Cum possim mori.

PLI.
Summa est potestas.

THY.
Nulla, si cupias nihil.

PLI.
Gnatis relinques.

THY.
Non capit regnum duos.

PLI.
Miser esse mauult, esse qui felix potest?

THY.
Mihi crede, falsis magna nominibus placent.
Frustra timentur dura: dum excelsus steti,

Nunquam pauere destiti, atque ipsum mei / [71]
Ferrum timere lateris. o quantum bonum est.
Obstare nulli, capere securas dapes:
Humi iacentem scelera non intrant casam,
Tutusque mensa capitur angusta cibus:
Venenum in auro bibitur: expertus loquor.
Malam bonae praeferre fortunam licet.
Non vertice alti montis impositam domum,
Et eminentem ciuitas humilis tremit:
Nec fulget altis splendidum tecti ebur.
Somnosque non defendit excubitor meos.
Non classibus piscamur, et retro mare
Iacta fugamus mole. non ventrem improbum
Alimus tributo gentium: nullus mihi
Ultra Getas metitur et Parthos ager:
Non thure colimur, nec meae excluso Ioue
Ornantur araе: nulla culminibus meis
Imposita mutat sylua, nec fumant manu
Succensa multa stagna: nec somno dies,
Bacchoque nox ducenda peruigili datur:
Sed non timemus: tuta sine telo est domus,
Rebusque; paruis alta praestatur quies.
Immane regnum est, posse sine regno pati.

PLI.
Nec abnuendum, si dat imperium deus.

THY.
Nec appetendum.

PLI.
Frater vt regnes, rogat.

THY.
Rogat? timendum est: errat hic aliquis dolus.

PLI.
Redire pietas, vnde summota est, solet,
Reparatque; vires iustus amissas amor.

THY.
Amat Thyesten frater? aetherias prius
Perfundet Arctos pontus, et Siculi rapax / [72]
Consistet aestus vnda, et Ionio seges
Matura pelago surget, et lucem dabit
Nox atra terris: ante cum flammis aquae
Cum morte vitae, cum mari ventus fidem,
Foedusque; iungent.

PLI.
Quam tamen fraudem times?

THY.
Omnem: timori quem meo statuam modum?
Tantum potest, quantum edit.

PLI.
In te quid potest?

THY.
Pro me nihil iam metuo: vos facilis mihi
Atrea timendum.

PLI.
Decipi captus times?
Serum est cauendi tempus in mediis malis.
Eatur, vnum genitor hoc hortamen est.

THY.
Ego vos sequor, non duco.

PLI.
Respiciat Deus
Bene cogitata, perge non dubio gradu.

ATREVS. THYESTES.

Trimetri Iambici.

Plagis tenetur clausa dispositis fera:
Et ipsum, et vna generis inuisi indolem
Iunctam parenti cerno; iam tuto in loco
Versantur odia: venit in nostras manus
Tandem Thyestes, venit, et totus quidem:
Vix tempero animo, vix dolor frenos capit.
Sic, cum feras vestigat, et longo sagax
Loro tenetur Vmber, ac presso vias
Scrutatur ore, dum procul lento suem
Odore sentit, paret, et tacito locum
Rostro pererrat: praeda cum propior fuit
Ceruice tota pugnat, et gemitu vocat
Dominum morantem, seque retinenti eripit.
Cum spirat ira sanguinem, nescit regi.
Tamen tegatur, aspice, vt multo grauis

Squalore vultus obruat moestos coma:
Quam foeda iaceat barba. praestetur fides:
Fratrem iuuat videre complexus mihi
Redde expetitos: quicquid irarum fuit,
Transierit, ex hoc sanguis ac pietas die
Colantur, animis odia damnata excidant.

THY.
Diluere possem cuncta, nisi talis fores:
Sed fateor, Atreu, fateor, admisi omnia
Quae credidisti: pessimam causam meam
Hodierna pietas fecit: est prorsus nocens,
Quicunque visus tam bono fratri est nocens.
Lacrymis agendum est, supplicem primus vides.
Hae te precantur pedibus intactae manus,
Ponatur omnis ira, et ex animo tumor
Erasus abeat: obsides fidei accipe
Hos innocentes frater.

ATR.
A genibus manus
Aufer, meosque; potius amplexus pete.
Vos quoque, senum praesidia, tot iuuenes, meo
Pendete collo: squalidam vestem exue,
Oculisque; nostris parce, et ornatus cape
Quales meis sunt, laetus et partem imperi
Capesse frater: maior haec laus est mea,
Fratri paternum reddere incolumi decus.
Habere regnum casus est, virtus dare.

THY.
Dii paria frater pretia pro tantis tibi
Meritis rependant: regiam capitis notam
Squalor recusat noster, et sceptrum manus
Infausta refugit: liceat in media mihi
Latere turba.

ATR.
Recipit hoc regnum duos.

THY.
Meum esse credo, quicquid est frater tuum.

ATR.
Quis influentis dona fortunae abnuit?

THY.
Expertus est quicunque, quam facile effluant.

/ [74]

ATR.
Fratrem potiri gloria ingenti vetas?

THY.
Tua iam peracta gloria est, restat mea.
Respuere certum est regna consilium mihi.

ATR.
Meam relinquam, nisi tuam partem accipis.

THY.
Accipio, regni nomen impositi feram:
Sed iura, et arma, seruient mecum tibi.

ATR.
Imposita capiti vincla venerando gere,
Ego destinatas victimas superis dabo.

CHORVS
Sapphici, et vnus Adonius.

Credat hoc quisquam? ferus ille, et acer,
Nec potens mentis, truculentus Atreus,
Fratris aspectu stupefactus haesit.
Nulla vis maior pietate vera est:
Iurgia externis inimica durant.
Quos amor verus tenuit, tenebit.
Ira cum magnis agitata causis
Gratiam rupit, cecinitque; bellum,
Cum leues frenis sonuere thummae,
Fulsit hinc illinc agitatus ensis.
Quem mouet crebro furibundus ictu
Sanguinem Mauors cupiens recentem,
Opprimet ferrum, manibusque iunctis
Ducit ad pacem pietas negantes.
Otium e tanto subitum tumultu / [75]
Quis Deus fecit? modo per Mycenas
Arma ciuilis crepuere belli:
Pallidae matres tremuere natis,
Vxor armato timuit marito,
Cum manum inuitus sequeretur ensis
Sordidus pacis vitio quietae:
Ille labentes renouare muros,
Hic situ quassas stabilire turres,
Ferreis portas cohibere claustris

Ille certabat, pauidusque; pinnis
Anxiae nocti vigil incubabat.
Peior est bello timor ipse belli.
Iam minae saeui cecidere ferri,
Iam silet murmur graue classicorum,
Iam tacet stridor litui strepentis.
Alta pax urbis reuocata laetae.
Sic vbi ex alto tumuere fluctus
Brutium pontum feriente Coro,
Scylla pulsatis resonat cauernis,
Ac mare intortum timuere nautae,
Quod rapax hausit reuomit Charybdis:
Et ferus Cyclops metuit parentem,
Rupe feruentis residens in Aetnae,
Ne superfusis violetur undis
Ignis Aeteneis resonans caminis:
Et putat mergi sua posse pauper
Regna Laertes Ithaca tremente.
Si suae ventis cecidere vires,
Mitius stagno pelagus recumbit: / [76]
Alta, quae nauis timuit secare
Hinc et hinc fusis spatiosa velis
Strata, ludenti patuere cymbae;
Et vocat mersos numerare pisces
Hic, ubi ingenti modo sub procella
Cyclades pontum timuere motae.
Nulla sors longa est: dolor, ac voluptas:
Inuicem cedunt, breuior voluptas.
Ima permutat breuis hora summis.
Ille qui donat diadema fronti,
Quem genu nixae tremuere gentes,
Cuius ad nutum posuere bella
Medus, et Phoebi propioris Indus,
Et Dacae Parthis equitem minati;
Anxius sceptrum tenet, et mouentes
Cuncta dynastas, metuitque; casus
Mobiles rerum, dubiumque; tempus.
Vos, quibus rector maris atque; terrae
Ius dedit magnum necis, atque; vitae,
Ponite inflatos, tumidosque; vultus:
Quicquid a vobis minor extimescit,
Maior hoc vobis dominus minatur.
Omne sub regno grauiore regnum est.
Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,
Hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.
Nemo confidat nimium secundis,
Nemo desperet meliora, lapsus.
Miscet haec illis, prohibetque; Clotho
Stare fortunam, rotat omne fatum. / [77]

Nemo tam diuos habuit fauentes,
Crastinum vt possit sibi polliceri.
Res deus nostras celeri citatas
Turbine versat.

ACTVS QVARTVS.

NVNCIVS. CHORVS.
Trimetri Iambii.

Qvis me per auras turbo praecipitem vehet,
Atraque nube inuoluet, vt tantum nefas
Eripiat oculis? o domus Pelopi quoque
Et Tantalo pudenda.

CH.
Quid portas noui?

NVN.
Quaena ista regio est? Sparte, et Argos, impios
Sortita fratres? et maris gemini premens
Fauces Corinthus? an feris Ister fugam
Praebens Alanis? an sub aeterna niue
Hyrcana tellus? an vagi passim Scythae?

CH.
Quis hic nefandi est conscius monstri locus?
Effare, et istud pande, quodcunque est malum.

NVN.
Si steterit animus, si metu corpus rigens
Remittet artus. haeret in vultu trucis
Imago facti: ferte me insane procul
Illo procellae: ferte, quo fertur dies
Hinc raptus.

CH.
Animos grauius incertos tenes:
Quid sit, quod horres, effer, auctorem indica.
Non quaero quis sit, sed vter: effare ocyus.

NVN.
In arce summa Pelopis, vna est pars domus
Conuersa ad Austros, cuius extremum latus
Aequale monti crescit, atque vrbem premit,

Et contumacem regibus populum suis
Habet sub ictu: fulget hic turbae capax
Immane tectum, cuius auratas trabes
Varijs columnae nobiles maculis ferunt.
Post ista vulgo nota, quae populi colunt:
In multa diues spatia discedit domus.
Arcana in imo regia recessu patet,
Alta vetustum valle compescens nemus,
Penetrale regni: nulla, quae laetos solet
Praebere ramos arbor, aut ferro coli,
Sed taxus, et cupressus, et nigra ilice
Obscura nutat sylua, quam supra eminens
Despectat alte quercus, et vincit nemus.
Hinc auspicari regna Tantalidae solent,
Hinc petere lassis rebus, et dubiis opem.
Affixa inhaerent dona, vocales tubae,
Fractique; currus, spolia Myrtoi maris,
Victaeque, falsis axibus pendent rotae,
Et omne gentis facinus: hoc Phrygius loco
Fixus tiaras Pelopis: his praeda hostium,
Et de triumpho picta barbarico chlamys.
Fons stat sub vmbra tristis, et nigra piger
Haeret palude: talis est dirae Stygis
Deformis vnda, quae facit coelo fidem.
Hic nocte tota gemere ferales deos
Fama est: catenis lucus excussis sonat,
Vlulantque manes: quicquid audire est metus,
Illic videtur: errat antiquis vetus
Emissa bustis turba, et insultam loco
Maiora notis monstra: quin tota solet
Micare flamma sylua, et excelsae trabes:
Ardent sine igne: saepe latratu nemus
Trino remugit: saepe simulacris domus
Attonita magnis: nec dies sedat metum.
Nox propria luco est, et superstitio inferum
In luce media regnat: hinc orantibus
Responsa dantur certa, cum ingenti sono
Laxantur adyto fata, et inmugit specus
Vocem deo soluente: quo postquam furens
Intrauit Atreus, liberos fratris trahens,
Omantur arae quis queat digne eloqui?
Post terga iuuenum nobiles reuocat manus,
Et moesta vitta capita purpurea ligat.
Non thura desunt, non sacer Bacchi liquor,
Tangensve salsa victimam culter mola.
Seruatur omnis ordo, ne tantum nefas
Non rite fiat.

645 650 655 660 665 670 / [79] 675 680 685

CH.
Quis manum ferro admouet?

NVN.
Ipse est sacerdos, ipse funesta prece
Lethale carmen ore violento canit.
Stat ipse ad aras, ipse deuotos neci
Contrectat, et componit , et ferro, admovet.
Accendit ipse, nulla pars sacri perit,
Lucus tremiscit, tota succusso solo
Nutauit aula, dubia quo pondus daret,
Ac fluctuanti similis: e laeuo aethere
Atrum cucurrit limitem sidus trahens:
Libata in ignes vina mutato fluunt
Cruenta Baccho: regium capiti decus / [80]
Bis terque lapsum est, fleuit in templis ebur.
Mouere cunctos monstra, sed solus sibi
Immotus Atreus constat, atque vltro deos
Terret minantes. iamque dimissa mora
Assiluit aris, toruum et obliquum intuens.
Ieiuna syluis qualis in Gangeticis
Inter iuuencos Tigris errauit duos,
Vtriusque praedae cupida quo primum ferat
Incerta morsus: flectit huc rictus suos,
Illo reflectit, et famen dubiam tenet:
Sic dirus Atreus, capita deuota impiae
Speculatur irae: quem prius mactet sibi,
Dubitat, secunda deinde quem caede immolet,
Nec interest, sed dubitat, et tantum scelus
Iuuat ordinare.

CH.
Quem tamen ferro occupat?

NVN.
Primus pietati, ne deesse pietatem putes,
Auo dicatur, Tantalus prima hostia est.

CH.
Quo iuuenis animo, quo tulit vultu necem?

NVN.
Stetit sui securus, et non est preces
Perire frustra passus. ast illi ferus
In vulnere ensem abscondit, et penitus premens
Iugulo manum commisit, educto stetit
Ferro cadauer: cumque dubitasset diu
Hac parte, an illa caderet, in patruum cadit.

Tunc ille ad aras Philisthenem saeuus trahit,
Adicitque fratri: colla percussa amputat.
Ceruice caesa, truncus in pronum ruit:
Querulum cucurrit murmure incerto caput.

CH.
Quid deinde, gemina caede perfunctus, facit? / [81]
Puerone parcit? an scelus sceleri ingerit?

NVN.
Sylua iubatus qualis Armenia leo,
In caede multa victor, armento incubat,
Cruore rictus madidus, et pulsa fame
Non ponit iras, hinc, et hinc tauros premens
Vitulis minatur, dente iam lasso piger:
Non aliter Atreus saeuit, atque ira tumet,
Ferrumque gemina caede perfusum tenens,
Oblitus in quem fureret, infesta manu
Exegit vltra corpus: ac pueri statim
Pectore receptus ensis in tergo exiit:
Cadit ille, et aras sanguine extinguens suo,
Per vtrumque vulnus moritur.

CHO.
Saeuum scelus.

NVN.
Exhorruistis? hactenus si stat nefas:
Plus est.

CH.
An vltra maius, aut atrocius
Natura recipit?

NVN.
Sceleris hunc finem putas?
Gradus est.

CH.
Quid vltra potuit? obiecit feris
Lanianda forsan corpora, atque igne arcuit?

NVN.
Vtinam arcuisset: ne tegat functos humus,
Nec soluat ignis, auibus epulandos licet
Ferisque triste pabulum saeuis trahat,
Votum est sub hoc, quod esse supplicium solet,
Pater insepultos spectet. o nullo scelus
Credibile in aeuo, quodque posteritas neget:

Erepta viuis exta pectoribus tremunt,
Spirantque venae, corque adhuc pauidum salit:
At ille fibras tractat, ac fata inspicit,
Et adhuc calentes viscerum venas notat.
Postquam hostiae placuere, securus vacat / [82]
Iam fratris epulis: ipse diuisum secat
In membra corpus, amputat trunco tenus
Humeros patentes, et lacertorum moras,
Denudat artus durus, atque ossa amputat:
Tantum ora seruat, et datas fidei manus.
Haec verubus haerent viscera, et lentis data
Stillant caminis: illa flammatus latex
Querente aheno iactat: impositas dapes
Transiluit ignis inque crepitantes focos
Bis, ter, regestus, et pati iussus moram
Inuitus ardet: stridet in verubus iecur.
Nec facile dicam, corpora, an flammae gemant.
Gemuere: piceus ignis in fumos abit:
Et ipse fumus tristis, ac nebula grauis
Non rectus exit, seque in excelsum leuat,
Ipsos penates nube deformi obsidet.
O Phoebe patiens fugeris retro licet,
Medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem,
Sero occidisti, lancinat gnatos pater,
Artusque mandit ore funesto suos:
Nitet fluente madidus vnguento comam,
Grauisque vino: saepe praeclusae cibum
Tenuere fauces, in malis vnum hoc tuis
Bonum est Thyesta, quod mala ignoras tua,
Sed et hoc peribit: verterit cursus licet
Sibi ipse Titan, obuium ducens iter,
Tenebrisque facinus obruat tetrum nouis,
Nox missa ab ortu tempore alieno grauis,
Tamen videndum est: tota patefient mala. / [83]

CHORVS

Anapaestici, praeter vnum et alterum Adonium.

Qvo terrarum superumque parens,
Cuius ad ortus noctis opacae
Decus omne fugit? quo vertis iter,
Medioque diem perdis Olympo?
Cur Phoebe tuos rapis aspectus?
Nondum serae nuntius horae

Nocturna vocat lumina vesper:
Nondum Hesperiae flexura rotae
Iubet emeritos soluere currus:
Nondum in noctem vergente die
Tertia misit buccina signum:
Stupet ad subitae tempora coenae
Nondum fessis bubus arator.
Quid te aetherio pepulit cursu?
Quae causa tuos limite certo
Deiecit equos? nunquid; aperto
Carcere Ditis, victi tentant
Bella gigantes? nunquid Tityus
Pectore fesso renouat veteres
Saucius iras? num reiecto
Latus explicuit monte Typhoeus?
Nunquid struitur via Phlegraeos
Alta per hostes? et Thessalicum
Thressa premitur Pelion Ossa?
Solitae mundi periere vices,
Nihil occasus, nihil ortus erit.
Stupet, Eoos, assueta Deo / [84]
Tradere frenos, genetrix primae
Roscida lucis peruersa sui
Lumina regni; nescit fessos
Tingere currus, nec fumantes
Sudore iubas mergere ponto.
Ipse insueto nouus hospitio,
Sol auroram videt occiduus,
Tenebrasque iubet surgere, nondum
Nocte parata: non succedunt
Astra, nec vllo micat igne polus:
Nec luna graueis digerit vmbras.
Sed quicquid id est, vtinam nox sit.
Trepidant nostra pectora magno
Percussa metu, ne fatali
Cuncta ruina quassata labent,
Iterumque deos, hominesque premat
Deforme chaos: iterum terras
Et mare, et ignes, et vaga picti
Sidera mundi natura tegat.
Non aeternae facis exortu
Dux astrorum secula ducens
Dabit aestatis, brumaeque; notas.
Non Phoebeis obuia flammis,
Demet nocti Luna timores,
Vincetque sui fratris habenas
Curuo breuius limite currens.
Ibit in vnum coniesta sinum
Turba Deorum.

Hic, qui sacris peruius astris / [85]
Secat obliquo tramite zonas,
Flectens longos signifer annos,
Lapsa videbit sidera labens.
Hic, qui nondum vere benigno
Reddit Zephyro vela tepenti,
Aries praeceps ibit in vndas,
Per quas pauidum vexerat Hellen.
Hic, qui nitido Taurus comu
Perfert Hyadas, secum Geminos
Trahet, et curui brachia Cancri.
Leo flammiferis aestibus ardens
Iterum a coelo cadet Herculeus.
Cadet in terras Virgo relictas;
Iustaeque; cadent pondera Librae,
Secumque trahent Scorpion acrem.
Et qui neruo tenet Aemonio
Pennata senex spicula Chiron,
Rupto perdet spicula neruo.
Pigram referens hyemem gelidus
Cadet Aegoceros, frangetque tuam,
Quisquis es, vmam: tecum excident
Vltima coeli sidera Pisces.
Monstraque nunquam perfusa mari
Merget condens omnia gurges.
Et qui medias diuidit Vrsas,
Fluminis instar, lubricus anguis;
Magnoque minor iuncta Draconi
Frigida duro Cynosura gelu;
Custosque sui tardus plaustri / [86]
Iam non stabilis ruet Arctophylax.
Nos e tanto visi populo
Digni, premeret quos euerso
Cardine mundus:
In nos aetas vltima venit.
O nos dura sorte creatos,
Seu perdidimus solem miseri,
Siue expulimus.
Abeant quaestus, discede timor:
Vitae est auidus, quisquis non vult
Mundo secum pereunte mori.

ACTVS QVINTVS

ATREVS SOLUS.
Trimetri Iambici.

Aequalis astris gradior, et cunctos super
Altum superbo vertice attingens polum,
Nunc decora regni teneo, nunc solium patris.
Dimitto superos: summa votorum attigi.
Bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi.
Sed cur satis sit? pergam, et implebo patre[m]
Funere suorum: ne quid obstaret pudor,
Dies recessit: perge, dum coelum vocat.
Vtinam quidem tenere fugientes Deos
Possem, et coactos trahere, vt vltricem dapem
Omnes viderent: quod sat est, videat pater.
Etiam die nolente discutiam tibi
Tenebras, miseriae sub quibus latitant tuae.
Nimis diu conuiua securo iaces, / [87]
Hilarique vultu: iam satis mensis datum est,
Satisque Baccho: sobrio tanta ad mala
Opus est Thyeste, turba famularis, fores
Templi relaxa, festa patefiat domus:
Libet videre, capita natorum intuens
Quos det colores, verba quae primus dolor
Effundat, aut vt spiritu expulso stupens
Corpus rigescat: fructus hic operis mei est,
Miserum videre nolo, sed dum fit miser,
Aperta multa tecta collucent face:
Resupinus ipse purpura, atque auro incubat,
Vino gravatum fulciens laeua caput:
Eructat. o me coelitum excelsissimum,
Regumque regem: vota transcendi mea.
Satur est, capaci ducit argento merum.
Ne parce potu, restat etiam nunc cruor
Tot hostiarum: veteris hunc Bacchi color
Abscondet: hoc mensa claudatur scypho,
Mistum suorum sanguinem genitor bibat
Meum bibisset. ecce, iam cantus ciet,
Festasque voces, nec satis menti imperat.

Anapaestici.

Pectora longis hebetata malis
Iam sollicitas ponite curas:
Fugiat moeror, fugiatque pauor,
Fugiat trepidi comes exilij
Tristis egestas, rebusque grauis
Pudor afflictis. magis vnde cadas,
Quam quo refert: magnum, ex alto
Culmine lapsum, stabilem in plano
Figere gressum: magnum, ingenti
Strage malorum pressum, fracti
Pondera regni non inflexa
Ceruice pati: nec degenerem
Victumque malis rectum impositas
Ferre ruinas. sed iam saeui
Nubila fati pelle, ac miseri
Temporis omnes dimitte notas:
Redeant vultus ad laeta boni.
Veterem ex animo mitte Thyesten.
Proprium hoc miseros sequitur vitium,
Nunquam rebus credere laetis.
Redeat felix fortuna licet,
Tamen afflictos gaudere piget.
Quid me reuocas, festumque vetas
Celebrare diem? quid flere iubes
Nulla surgens dolor ex causa?
Quid me prohibet flore recenti
Vincire comam? prohibet, prohibet.
Vernae capiti fluxere rosae:
Pingui madidus crinis amomo
Inter subitos stetit horrores.
Imber vultu nolente cadit:
Venit in medias voces gemitus:
Moeror lacrymas amat assuetas.
Flendi miseris dira cupido est.
Libet infaustos mittere quaestus: / [89]
Libet et Tyrio saturas ostro
Rumpere vestes: vlulare libet,
Mittit luctus signa futuri
Mens, ante sui praesaga mali.
Instat nautis fera tempestas,
Cum sine vento tranquilla tument.
Quos tibi vultus quosve tumultus
Fingis, demens? credula praesta

Pectora fratri: iam, quicquid id est,
Vel sine causa, vel sero times.
Nolo infelix, sed vagus intra
Terror oberrat: subitos fundunt
Oculi fletus, nec causa subest:
Dolor an metus est? an habet lacrimas
Magna voluptas?

ATREVS.THYESTES.

Trimetri Iambici.

Festum diem, germane consensu pari
Celebramus: hic est sceptra qui firmet mea,
Solidamque pacis alliget certae fidem.

THY.
Saties dapis me, nec minus Bacchi tenet.
Augere cumulus hic voluptatem potest,
Si cum meis gaudere felici datur.

ATR.
Hic esse natos crede in amplexu patris.
Hic sunt, eruntque, nulla pars prolis tuae
Tibi subtrahetur: ora, quae exoptas, dabo,
Totumque turba iam sua implebo patrem,
Satiaberis, ne metue: nunc misti meis
Iucunda mensae sacra iuuenilis colunt, / [90]
Sed accientur: poculum infuso cape
Gentile Baccho.

THY.
Capio fraternae dapis
Donum, paternis vina libentur Deis,
Tunc hauriantur, sed quid hoc? non vult manus
Parere: crescit pondus, et dextram grauat:
Admotus ipsis Bacchus a labris fugit,
Circaque rictus ore decepto offluit,
Et ipsa trepido mensa subsiluit solo.
Vix lucet ignis, ipse quin aether grauis
Inter diem noctemque desertus stupet.
Quid hoc? magis magisque concussi labant
Conuexa coeli: spissior densis coit
Caligo tenebris, noxque se in noctem abdidit,

Fugit omne sidus: quicquid est, fratri precor
Gnatisque parcat: omnis in vile hoc caput
Abeat procella. redde iam gnatos mihi.

ATR.
Reddam, et tibi illos nullus eripiet dies.

THY.
Quis hic tumultus viscera exagitat mea?
Quid tremuit intus? sentio impatiens onus,
Meumque gemitu non meo pectus gemit.
Adeste gnati, genitor infelix vocat:
Adeste, visis fugiet hic vobis dolor.
Vnde obloquutur?

ATR.
Expedi amplexus pater,
Venere: gnatos ecquid agnoscis tuos?

THY.
Agnosco fratrem. sustines tantum nefas
Gestare tellus? non ad infernam Styga
Te, nosque mergis? rupta et ingenti viae
Ad chaos inane regna cum rege abripis.
Non tota ab imo tecta conuellens solo / [91]
Vertis Mycenas? stare circa Tantalum,
Avosque nostros, si quis intra Tartara est,
Vterque iam debuimus. hinc compagibus
Et hinc reuulsis, hunc tuam immani sinu
Demitte vallem, nosque defossos tege
Acheronte toto: noxiae supra caput
Animae vagentur nostrum, et ardenti freto
Phlegeton arenas igneus totas agens,
Exitia supra nostra violentus fluat.
Immota tellus pondus ignauum iaces?
Fugere superi.

ATR.
At accipe hos potius libens,
Recipe hosce citius: liberis tandem tuis
Diu expetitis, nulla per fratrem est mora,
Fruere, osculare, diuide amplexus tribus.

THY.
Hoc foedus? haec est gratia? haec fratris fides?
Sic odia ponis? non peto, incolumes pater
Gnatos vt habeam, scelere quod saluo dari,
Odioque possit, frater hoc fratrem rogo,
Sepelire liceat. redde quod cernas statim

Vri: nihil te genitor habiturus rogo.
Sed perditurus.

ATR.
Quicquid e natis tuis
Superest, habebis, quodque non superest, habes.

THY.
Vtrumne saeuis pabulum altibus iacent?
An belluis seruantur? an pascunt feras?

ATR.
Epulatus ipse es impia gnatos dape.

THY.
Hoc est, Deos quod puduit: hoc egit diem
Auersum in ortus. quas miser voces dabo?
Questusque quos? quae verba sufficient mihi?
Abscissa cerno capita, et auulsas manus, / [92]
Et rupta fractis cruribus vestigia.
Hoc est, quod auidus capere non potuit pater.
Voluuntur intus viscera et clusum nefas
Sine exitu luctatur, et quaerit viam.
Da frater ensem: sanguinis multum mei
Habet ille: ferro liberis demus viam.
Negatur ensis? pectora illiso sonent
Concussa planctu: sustine infelix manum.
Parcamus vmbris. tale quis vidit nefas?
Quis inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam
Heniochus habitans? quisve Cecropiis metus
Terris Procrustes? genitor, en gnatos premo,
Premorque gnatis: sceleris est aliquis modus?

ATR.
Sceleri modus debetur, vbi facias scelus,
Non vbi reponas: hoc quoque exiguum est mihi.
Ex vulnere ipso sanguinem calidum in tua
Diffundere ora debui, vt viuentium
Biberes cruorem: verba sunt irae data
Dum propero. ferro vulnera impresso dedi,
Cecidi ad aras, caede votiua focos
Placaui, et artus corpora exanima amputans,
In parua carpsi frusta, et haec feruentibus.
Demersi ahenis, illa lentis ignibus
Stillare iussi: membra, neruosque abscidi
Viuentibus, gracilique traiecto veru
Mugire fibras vidi, et aggessi manu
Mea ipse flammas: omnia haec melius pater
Fecisse potuit, cecidit incassum dolor.

Scidit ore natos impio, sed nesciens, / [93]
Sed nescientes.

THY.
Clausa littoribus vagis
Audite maria, vosque Dij audite hoc scelus,
Quocunque diffugistis; audite inferi,
Audite terrae, noxque Tartarea grauis 1070
Et atra nube vocibus nostris vaca.
Tibi sum relictus, sola tu miserum vides,
Tu quoque sine astris. vota non faciam improbat,
Pro me nihil precabor: ecquid iam potest
Pro me esse? vobis vota prospicient mea. 1075
Tu summe coeli rector, aetheriae potens
Dominator aulae, nubibus totum horridis
Conuolue mundum, bella ventorum vndique
Committe, et omni parte violentum intona,
Manuque non qua tecta et immeritas domos 1080
Telo petis minore, sed qua montium
Tergemina moles cecidit, et qui montibus
Stabant pares gigantes. haec arma expedi,
Ignesque torque, vindica amissum diem.
Iaculare flammas, lumen ereptum polo 1085
Fulminibus exple: causa, ne dubites diu,
Vtriusque mala sit. si minus, mala sit mea,
Me pete: trisulco flammeam telo facem
Per pectus hoc transmitte: si gnatos pater
Humare, et igni tradere extremo volo, 1090
Ego sum cremandus: si nihil superos mouet,
Nullumque telis impios numen petit,
Aeternae nox permaneat, et tenebris tegat
Immensa longis secla: nil Titan queror,
Si perseueras.

ATR.
Nunc meas laudo manus, 1095 / [94]
Nunc parta vera est palma: perdideram scelus
Nisi sic doleres: liberos nasci mihi
Nunc credo, castis nunc fidem reddo toris.

THY.
Quid liberi meruere?

ATR.
Quod fuerant tui.

THY.
Gnatos parenti?

ATR.
Fateor, et, quod me iuuat,
Certos.

THY.
Piorum praesides testor Deos.

ATR.
Quin coniugales?

THY.
Scelere quis pensat scelus?

ATR.
Scio quid queraris, scelere praerepto doles:
Nec quod nefandas hauseris angit dapes,
Quod non pararis fuerat hic animus tibi,
Instruere similes inscio fratri cibos,
Et adiuuante liberos matre aggredi,
Similique; leto sternere: hoc vnum obstitit,
Tuos putasti.

THY.
Vindices aderunt Dei,
His puniendum vota te tradunt mea.

ATR.
Te puniendum liberis trado tuis. / [95]

THE SECONDE

TRAGEDIE OF

Seneca entituled Thy=
estes faithfully Engli=
shed by Jasper Hey=
wood fellowe of
Alsolne Col=
lege
in Oxforde.

IMPRINTED AT
London in fletestrete
in the hous late
Thomas Ber=
thelettes.

Anno. 1560.

26. die Martii.

To the right honorable syr

John Mason knight one of the Queenes
maiesties priuie counsaile, his daily ora-
tor Jasper Heywood wysheth
health with encrease of
honour and
vertue.

[The Epistle]

As bounden brest dothe beare the poorest wyght,
that dutie dothe in tryflyng token sende,
As he that dothe with plenteous present quyght,
Of prouder pryce, and glyttryng golde his frende.
Who so repaythe with moneys mightie masse,
the good that he at others hands hath founde,
Remembraunce of the benefyte dothe passe,
he thynks him selfe to hym no longer bounde.
The poore, whose powre may not with pryce repaye,
the great good gyfts that he reteyude before,
With thankfull thought yet gogyn gyfte dothe swaye,
aboue the payse of pearle and golde great store.
If puisaunt prynce at poore mans hande onse tooke
A radishe roote, and was therwith content,
Your honor then I pray, this little booke
to take in woorthe, that I to you present. / [*ii]
Whiche though it selfe a volume be but small,
yet greater gyft it geues then weene ye myght,
Though it a barrayne booke be throughout all
full fruteles, yet not faythles sygne in sight
It showes of him that for your honour prayes,
(as deedes of yours of him deserued haue,)
That god aboue prolong your happie dayes,
and make the skyes your seate soone after graue. / [*iiv]

The translatour

to the booke.

Thou lytle booke my messenger must be,
That must from me to wight of honour goe,
Behaue thee humbly,bende to him thy knee,
and thee to hym in lowly maner showe.
But dooe thou not thy selfe to him present,
When with affayres thou shalt him troubled see;
Thou shalt perhapps, so woorthely be shent,
and with reproofe he thus will say to thee.
So prowdly thus presume how darest thou,
at suche a tyme so rashely to appeare?
With thyngs of waight thou seest me burdned nowe,
I maie not yet to tryfles geue myne eare.
Spie well thy tyme, when thou him seest alone,
an ydle houre for the shalbe moste meete,
Then steppe thou foorth, in sight of him anone,
and as behoues, his honor humbly greete.
But now take heede what I to the shall tell,
and all by roate this lesson take with thee,
In euery thyng thy selfe to order well
in syght of hym, geeue eare and learne of mee,
Fyrst, what or whence thou art if he woulde wyt,
then see that thou thy tytle to him showe,
Tell hym thy name is in thy forhed wryt,
by whiche he shalt bothe thee and me well knowe. / [*iii]
Then when he hath once lookte upon thy name,
yf yet he shall neglect to reade the rest,
Or if he chyde and say thou arte to blame,
with trifles suche to haue him so opprest:
Beseche him yet therof to pardon thee,
syns thou arte but thy masters messengere,
Excuse thy selfe and laie the faute in mee,
at whose commaundment thus thou comste in there.
If my presumpcion then accuse he do,
if deede so rasshe of myne he do reproue,
That I thee dare attempt to send him to,
beware thou speake nothyng for my behoue.
Nor do thou not excuse my faute in ought,

but rather yet confesse to him the same,
And saie there maie a fawte in me be thought,
whiche to excuse it doubleth but the blame.
Yet with my boldenes him beseche to beare,
and pardon geue to this my enterpryse,
A woorthy thyng in wight of honour weare,
a present poore to take in thankfull wyse.
For tell him though thou slender volume be,
ungreeyng gyfte for state of honour guest,
Yet dooste thou signe of dutie bringe with the,
and pledge thou arte of truly bounden brest.
And thou for him arte come for to confesse,
his beadman bounde to be for his desart,
And how to him he graunts he owthe no lesse,
nor geeues no more, but note of thankful hart. / [*iiiv]
In all the rest that he to thee shall say,
thy wyt shall serue an answere well to make.
Thou hast thyne errande, get thee hens away,
the gods thee speede, to them I thee betake. / [*iiii]

The preface.

It was the fowre and twentith daie
of latest monthe saue one
Of all the yere: when flowre and fruts
from fielde and tree were gone,
And sadder season suche ensewde
as dulls the dolefull sprights
And Muse of men that woonted were
to wander in delights:
And weather suche there was, as well
became the pensyue pen
With sory style of woes to wryte
and eke of mischiefe, when
Aurora blusht with ruddie cheekes,
to waile the death agayne
Of Phoebus soon: whom thunderbolt
of mightie Joue had slayne:
And cloudes from highe began to throwe
their dreary teares adowne,
And Venus from the skyes aboue
on fryday fowle to frowne:
When (as at booke with mased Muse
I satte and pensiue thought
Deepe drownde in dumps of drousines
as chaunge of weather wrought,) / [*iiiiv]
I felt howe Morpheus bound my browes
and eke my Temples strooke,
That downe I soonke my heauy head
and sleapt uppon my booke.
Then dreamde I thus, that by my syde
me thought I sawe one stande
That downe to grounde in scarlet gowne
was dight, and in his hande
A booke he bare: and on his head
of Bayes a Garland greene:
Full graue he was, well stept in yeres
and comly to be seene.
His eyes like Christall shiende: his breathe
full sweete, his face full fyne,
It seemde he had byn lodged long

among the Muses nyne.
Good syr (quoth I) I you beseche
(since that ye seeme to me
By your attyre some worthie wight)
it may your pleasure be,
To tell me what and whens ye are.
wherat a whyle he stayde
Beholdyng me: anone he spake,
and thus (me thought) he sayde.
Spayne was (quoth he) my natiue soyle:
a man of woorthie fame
Sometime I was in former age,
and Seneca my name.
The name of Senec when I hearde
then scantly could I speake:
I was so gladde that from mine eyes
the teares began to breake
For ioy: and with what wordes I shoulde
salute him, I ne wyst.
I him enbrast: his handes, his feete,
and face full ofte I kyst.
And as at lengthe my tricklyng teares
me thought I might refrayne,
O blisfull daye (quoth I,) wherin
returned is agayne
So worthie wight: O happie houre,
that liefer is to me
Then life: wherin it happs me so,
that I should Senec see.
Arte thou the same, that whilom dydst
thy Tragedies endight
With woondrous wit and regall stile?
O long desyred sight.
And lyuste thou yet (quoth I) in deede?
and arte thou come agayne
To talke and dwell as thou wert wont
with men? and to remayne
In this our age? I lyue (quoth he)
and neuer shall I die:
The woorks I wrote shall still preserue
my name in memorie / [*bv.]
From age to age: and nowe agayne
I will reuiue the same,
And here I come to seeke some one
that might renewe my name,
And make me speake in straunger speeche
and sette my woorks to sight,
And skanne my verse in other tongue
then I was woont to wright.

A young man well I wotte there is
in thyle of Brytannie,
(That from the rest of all the worlde
aloofe in seas doth lie)
That once this labour tooke in hande:
him wolde I meete full fayne,
To craue that in the rest of all
my woorks he wolde take payne
To toyle, as he in Troas did.
is that your wyll (quoth I?)
I blusht, and sayd the same you seeke,
loe, here I stande you by.
If thou (quoth he) be whome I seeke,
if glorie ought thee moue
Of myne to come in after age,
if Senecs name thou loue
Aliue to keepe, I thee beseeche
agayne to take thy pen,
In miter of thy mother tongue
to geue to sight of men / [*bii]
My other woorks: wherby thou shalt
deserue of them and mee,
No litle thancks: When they them selues
my Tragedies shall see
In Englishe verse, that neuer yet
coulde latine understande.
With my renowne perhapps thy name
shall flie throughout this lande,
And those that yet thee neuer knewe
shall thee bothe loue and prayse,
And say God graunt this yong man well
to lyue full many dayes,
And many happy houres to see
in life: and after graue,
Rest, ioy, and blisse eternally
aboue the skies to haue,
That so translated hath these bookes.
to him (quoth I) agayne
(If any be that so with thanks
accepts a yong mans payne)
I wishe great good: but well I wotte
the hatefull cursed broode
Farre greater is, that are long syns
sproong up of Zoylus bloode.
That Red heard, black mouthd, squint eyed wretche
hath cowched euery wheare,
In corner close some Impe of his
that sitts to see and heare / [*biiv.]
What eche man dothe, and eche man blames,

nor onse we may him see
Come face to face, but we once gone
then stoutly stepps out hee:
And all he carpes that there he fyndes
ere halfe he reade to ende,
And what he understandes not, blames,
though nought he can amende.
But were it so that suche were none,
how may these youthfull dayes
Of mine, in thyng so hard as this
deserue of other prayse?
A labour long (quoth I) it is
that riper age doothe craue:
And who shall trauaile in thy bookes,
more iudgement ought to haue
Then I: whose greener yeares therby
no thanks may hope to wynne.
Thou seest dame Nature yet hath sette
No heares uppon my chynne.
Craue this therfore of grauer age,
and men of greater skill.
Full many be that better can,
and some perhapps that will.
But yf thy will be rather bent,
a yong mans witt to proue,
And thinkst that elder lerned men
perhaps it shall behoue, / [*biii]
In woorks of waight to spende theyr tyme,
goe where Mineruaes men,
And finest witts doe swarme: whome she
hath taught to passe with pen.
In Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne,
Grayes Inne and other mo,
Thou shalt them fynde whose paynfull pen
thy verse shall florishe so,
That Melpomen thou wouldst well weene
had taught them for to wright,
And all their woorks with stately style,
and goodly grace t'endight.
There shalt thou se the selfe same Northe,
whose woorke his witte displayes,
And Dyall dothe of Princes paynte,
and preache abroade his prayse.
There Sackuyldes Sonetts sweetely sauste,
and featly fyned bee,
There Nortons ditties do delight,
there Yeluertons doo flee
Well pewrde with pen: suche yong men three,
as weene thou mightst agayne,

To be begotte as Pallas was,
of myghtie Joue his brayne.
There heare thou shalt a great reporte,
of Baldwyns worthie name.
Whose Myrrour dothe of Magistrates,
proclayme eternall fame. / [*biiiv]
And there the gentle Blunduille is
by name and eke by kynde,
Of whome we learne by Plutarches lore,
what frute by Foes to fynde.
There Bauande bydes, that turnde his toyle
a Common welthe to frame,
And greater grace in Englyshe geues,
to woorthy authors name.
There Googe a gratefull gaynes hathe gotte,
reporte that runneth ryfe,
Who crooked Compasse dothe describe,
and Zodiake of lyfe.
And yet great nombre more, whose names
yf I shoulde now resight,
A ten tymes greater woorke then thine,
I should be forste to wright.
A pryncely place in Parnasse hill,
for these there is preparde,
Where crowne of glittryng glorie hangs,
for them a ryght rewarde.
Wheras the lappes of Ladies nyne,
shall dewly them defende,
That haue preparde the Lawrell leafe,
aboue theyr hedds to bende.
And where theyr Penns shall hang full hie,
and fame that erst was hyd,
Abrode in Brutus realme shall flie,
as late theyr volumes dyd. / [*biiii]
These are the witts that can display
thy Tragedies all ten,
Repleate with sugred sentence sweete,
and practise of the pen.
My selfe, I must confesse, I haue
to muche alreadie doon
Aboue my reache, when rashly once
with Troas I begoon:
And more presumde to take in hande
then well I brought to ende,
And litle volume with mo fautes,
then lynes abrode to sende.
And of that woorke what men reporte,
In faythe I neuer wist.
But well I wotte, it may be thought

so yll,that litle lyst
I haue to dooe the like: Wherof
though myne be all the blame,
And all to me imputed is,
that passeth in my name:
Yet as of some I will confesse
that I the author was,
And fawtes to many made my selfe
when I that booke lette pas
Out of my handes: so must I me
excuse, of other some.
For when to sygne of Hande and Starrs
I chaunced fyrst to come, / [*biiiiv]
To Printers hands I gaue the worke:
by whome I had suche wrong,
That though my selfe perusde their prooues
the fyrst tyme, yet ere long
When I was gone, they wolde agayne
the print therof renewe,
Corrupted all: in suche a sorte,
that scant a sentence trewe
Now flythe abroade as I it wrote.
which thyng when I had tryde,
And fowrescore greater fautes then myne
in fortie leaues espyde,
Small thanks (quoth I) for suche a woorke
wolde Senec geue to me,
If he were yet a lyue, and shoulde
perhapps it chaunce to see.
And to the printer thus I sayde:
within these doores of thyne,
I make a vowe shall neuer more
come any worke of myne.
My frende (quoth Senec therwithall)
no meruayle therof ys:
They haue my selfe so wronged ofte,
And many things amys
Are doon by them in all my woorks.
suche fautes in euery booke
Of myne they make, (as well he may
it fynde that lyst to looke,) / ~ [sig. sic.]
That sense and latin, verse and all
they violate and breake,
And ofte what I yet neuer ment
they me enforce to speake.
It is the negligence of them,
and partly lacke of skill
That dooth the woorks with paynes well pen[t]
full ofte disgrace and spill.

But as for that be nought abasht:
the wise will well it waye,
And learned men shall soone discerne
thy fautes from his, and saye,
Loe here the Printer dooth him wrong,
as easy is to trye:
And slaunder dooth the authors name,
and lewdly him belye.
But where thy yeares thou sayst lacke skyll,
mysdoute thou not (quoth he.)
I wil my selfe in these affayres,
a helper be to thee.
Eche Poetts tale I will expounde
and other places harde.
Thou shalt (nodoubte) fynde some, that will
thy labour well regarde.
And therwithall, oh lorde he sayde,
now him I thinke uppone,
That here but late to litle liude,
and now from hens is gone.
Whose vertues rare in age so greene
bewrayde a worthy wight,
And towardnesse tryde of tender tyme,
how louely lampe of light
He woulde haue byn, if God had spaerde
his dayes, tyll suche tyme,whan
That elder age had abled him,
by grouthe to grauer man.
How thankfull thyng thinkst thou (quoth he)
woulde this to him haue beene,
If geuen to his name he might
a woorke of thine haue seene,
Whome duryng life he fauourde so?
but that may neuer be:
For gone he is, (alas the while)
thou shalt him neuer see,
Where breathyng bodyes dwell agayne:
nor neuer shalt thou more,
Eftsones with him of learnyng talke,
as thou werte woont before.
Yet wayle no more for him (he sayde)
for he farre better is.
His seate he hath obtayned nowe,
among the starrs in blis.
And castyng brighter beames about,
then Phoebus golden glede,
Aboue the skies he lyues with Joue,
an other Ganymede:
In better place then Aquarie,

suche grace did God him gyue.
But though the sonne be gone, yet here
dothe yet the father lyue.
And long might he this lyfe enioye
in helthe, and great encrease
Of honour and of vertue bothe,
Tyll God his soule release
From corps to skyes: with right rewarde
to recompense him there,
For truthe and trusty seruice doon,
to prince and contrey here.
His goodnes loe thy selfe hast felte
([quoth] he) and that of late,
When he thee fayled not to helpe,
and succour thyne estate.
To him it shall beseeme thee well
some token for to showe,
That of thy dutie whiche thou dooste
for his deserts him owe
Thou myndfull arte, and how thou dooste
thy diligence applie,
To thanke as powre may serue, and with
thy pen to sygnifie,
A gratefull mynde. And thou to light
so litle trifle bee,
To geue to him that hath so muche
alredie doone for thee, / [~iiv.]
Yet syns thou canst none otherwyse
his honour yet requight,
Nor yet thy yeares doe thee permit
more waightie woorkes to wright,
This Christmas tyme thou mayste doe well
a peece therof to ende,
And many thanks in volume small,
as thee becomes to sende.
And tell him how for his estate,
thou dooste thy praiers make:
And him in dayly vowes of thine,
to God aboue betake.
But for because the Prynters all
haue greatly wronged mee,
To ease thee of thy paynes therin,
see what I bryng to thee.
He sayde: and therwithall, began
to ope the gylded booke
Whiche erst I tolde he bare in hand
and therupon to looke.
The leaues within were fyne to feele,
and fayre to looke uppone,

As they with syluer had byn sleakte,
full cleare to see they shone.
Yet farre the letters did eche one
exceede the leaues in sight,
More glorious then the glittryng golde,
and in the Iye more bright. / [~iii]
The featly framed lynes throughout
in meetest maner stande,
More worthy worke it was, then might
be made by mortall hande.
Therwith me thought a sauour sweete
I felt, so fresshe that was,
That bedds of purple vyoletts,
and Roses farre did pas.
No princes perfume like to it,
in chamber of estate:
I wiste it was some thyng diuine,
did me so recreate.
I felt my selfe refresshed muche,
well quickned were my witts,
And often tymes of pleasure great
I had so ioyfull fitts,
That makyng now I will confesse,
you may beleeue me well,
Great hoorde of golde I wolde refuse
in suche delights to dwell,
As in that dreame I had, anone,
me thought I asked him,
What booke it was he bare in hand,
that showde and smelde so trim.
These are (quoth he) the Tragedies
in deede of Seneca,
The Muse her selfe them truly writ,
that hight Melpomena. / [~iiiv.]
In Parnase princely palaice highe,
she garnisshed this booke,
The Ladies haue of Helicon
great ioy theron to looke:
When walkyng in theyr aleys sweete
the flowres so fresshe they treade,
And in the midst of them me place,
my Tragedies to reade.
These leaues that fyne as veluet feele,
and parchement like in sight,
Of feate fyne Fawnes they are the skyns,
suche as no mortall wight
May come unto: but with the which
the muses woont to playe,
In gardens still with grasse full greene,

that garnisht are full gaye.
There fostred are these litle beasts,
and fed with Muses mylke,
Their whitest hands and feete they lycke,
with tongue as softe as sylke.
Theyr beare not suche as haue the hearde,
of other common Deare,
But silken skyns of purple hewe,
lyke veluet fyne they weare.
With proper featly framed feete,
about the arbours greene
They trippe and daunce before these dames,
full seemely to be seene:
And then theyr golden homes adowne
in Ladies lappes they lay,
A greate delight those systers nyne,
haue with these Fawnes to play.
Of skyns of them this parchment loe
that shynes so fayre they make,
When ought they woulde with hande of theyrs,
to written booke betake.
This gorgeous glyttryng golden Inke,
so precious thyng to see,
Geue eare and wherof made it is,
I shall declare to thee.
Fayre trees amyd theyr Paradise,
there are of euery kynde,
Where euery frute that boughe brynge foorthe,
a man may euer fynde.
And deynties suche as princes wont,
with proudest price to bie,
Great plentie therof may be seene,
hang there on branches hie.
The Plumme, the Peare, the Fygge, the Date,
Powngarnet wants not theare,
The Orynge and the Olyue tree,
full plenteously doe beare.
Ye there the golden Apples hang,
which once a thyng muche worthe
To ioye the weddyng day of Joue,
the soyle it selfe brought forthe. / [~iiiiv]
There Daphne stands transformde to tree,
that greene is styll to sight,
That was sometyme the loued Nymphe
so fayre, of Phoebus bright.
Not farre from frute so rytche, that once
did wakyng dragon keepe
Dothe Myrrha stande, with wofull teares
that yet dothe wayle and weepe.

Her teares congealed hard to gumme,
that sauour sweete dothe cast,
It is that makes to leafe so fyne,
this Inke to cleaue so fast.
But with what water is this Inke
thus made, now learne(quoth hee)
The secrets of the sacred mounte,
I wyll declare to thee.
Aboue the rest a Cedre hyghe,
of haughtie toppe there growes
With bendyng braunches farre abrode,
on soyle that shadowe showes.
In toppe wherof do hang full hie,
the pennes of poetts olde,
And posyes purtred for theyr prayse,
in letters all of golde.
In shade wherof a banquet house
there stands of great delight,
For Muses ioyes, the walls are made
of marble fayre in sight
Fowre square: an Iuery turret stands
at euery corner hye,
The nookes and toppes doth beaten golde,
and amell ouerlye.
In fulgent seate doth fleeyng fame,
there syt full hyghe from grounde,
And prayse of Pallas poets sends
to starres with trumpetts sounde.
The gate therof so strong and sure,
it neede no watche nor warde
A woondrous woorke it is to see,
of Adamant full harde.
With nyne sure locks wherof of one
eche ladye kepes the kaye,
That none of them may come therin
when other are awaye.
The floore within with emrawds greene,
ys paued fayre and feate,
The boorde and benches rownde about,
are made of pure blacke geate.
The lute, the harpe, the cytheron,
the shaulme, the shagbut eke,
The vyall and the vyrginall,
no musyke there to seeke.
About the walls more woorthy woorke
then made by mortall hande,
The poetts paynted pyctures all
in seemely order stande:
With colours suche so lyuely layde,

/ [~v]

/ [~vv.]

that at that sight I weene,
Apelles pensyle woulde beare backe,
abashed to be seene.
There Homere, Ouide, Horace eke
full featlye purtred bee,
And there not in the lowest place,
they haue described mee.
There Virgyle, Lucane, Palingene,
and rest of poetts all
Do stande, and there from this daie foorthe,
full many other shall.
For now that house by manye yardes,
enlarged out they haue,
Wherby they myght in wyder wall
the Images engraue,
And paynte the pyctures more at large,
of hundreds, englysshe men.
That geeue theyr tongue a greatter grace,
by pure and paynfull pen.
In mydst of all this woorthy woorke,
there runns a pleasant spryng,
That is of all the paradyse,
the most delycious thyng.
That rounde about encloased is,
with wall of Jasper stone:
The ladies let no wight therin,
but euen them selues alone.
The water shynes lyke golde in syght,
and swetest is to smell,
Full often tymes they bathe them selues,
within that blysfull well.
With water thereof they this Inke
haue made that wryt this booke,
And lycenst me to bryng it downe,
for thee theron to looke.
Thou maist beleeue it trewly wrote,
and trust in euery whit
For here hathe neuer prynters presse
made faute, nor neuer yet,
Came errour here by mysse of man.
in sacred seate on hye,
They haue it wryt, in all whose woorks,
theyr pen can make no lye.
This booke shall greatly thee auayle,
to see how Prynters mys,
In all my woorkes, and all theyr fautes,
thou mayste correcte by thys.
And more then that, this golden spryng,
with whiche I haue the tolde

/ [~vi]

This ynke so bryght thus made to bee,
suche propertee dothe holde,
That who therof the sauour feeles,
his wytts shall quickned bee,
And spryghts reuyude in woondrous wyse,
as now it happs to thee. / [~viv.]
Come on therfore whyle helpe thou haste
he sayde, and therwithall
Euen at Thyestes chaunced fyrst,
the leaues abrode to fall.
Euen here (quoth he) yf it the please
begyn, now take thy pen
Moste dyre debates descrybe, of all
that euer chaunst to men.
And whiche the godds abhorde to see.
The summe of all the stryfe
Now harken to. Thyestes kepes
his brothers Atreus wyfe,
And ramme with golden fleece: but yet
dothe Atreus frendship fayne
With him, tyll tyme for fathers foode
he hathe his children slayne,
And dishes drest. he sayde, and then
begun to reade the booke:
I satte attent, and therupon
I fyxed fast my looke.
Fyrst how the furye draue the spryght
of Tantalus from hell
To stryrre the stryfe, I harde hym reade,
and all expounde full well.
Full many pleasant poetts tales
that dyd me please I harde,
And euermore to booke so fayre,
I had a great regarde. / [~vii]
Wherby I sawe how often tymes
the Printers dyd him wrong.
Now Gryphyus, Colineus now,
and now and then among
He Aldus blamde, with all the rest
that in his woorks do mys
Of sence or verse: and styll my booke,
I did correcte by hys.
The god of sleepe had harde all this,
when tyme for him it was,
To denns of slumber whence he came,
agayne awaie to pas.
The kercher bounde about my browes,
dypt all in Lymbo lake,
He strayght unknyt, away he fleeth,

and I begoon to wake.
When rownde I rollde mine eyes about,
and sawe my selfe alone,
In vayne I Senec Senec cryde,
the Poete now was gone.
For woe wherof I gan to weepe,
O godds (quoth I) unkynde,
Ye are to blame with shapes so vayne
our mortall eyes to blynde.
What goodly gayne get you therby,
ye shoulde us so beguyle,
And fantsies feede with ioyes, that last
alas to lyttle whyle?
I Morpheus curst a thousande tymes,
that he had made me sleepe
At all, or ells that he me wolde,
in dreame no longer keepe.
And neuer were my ioyes so greate,
in sleepe so sweete before,
But now as greeuous was my woe,
alas and ten tymes more,
My selfe without the poete there,
thus lefte alone to see,
And all delights of former dreame,
thus vanysshed to bee.
Somtyme I curst, somtyme I cryde,
lyke wight that waxed woode,
Or Panther of hir pray depryude,
or Tygre of her broode.
A thousande tymes my colour goes,
and comes as ofte agayne,
About I walkte, I might no where,
in quyet rest remayne.
In woondrous wyse I vexed was,
that neuer man I weene
So soone, might after late delights,
in suche a pangue be seene.
O thou Megaera then I sayde,
if might of thyne it bee,
Wherwith thou Tantall droauste from hell,
that thus dysturbeth mee,
Enspyre my pen: with pensyuenes
this Tragedie t'endyght,
And as so dredfull thyng beseemes,
with dolefull style to wryght.
This sayde, I felte the furies force
enflame me more and more,
And ten tymes more now chaste I was,
then euer yet before.

630 635 640 / [~viiv.] 645 650 655 660 665 / [~viii] 670 675

My heare stoode up, I waxed woode,
  my synewes all dyd shake,
And as the furye had me vext,
  my teethe began to ake.
And thus enflamed with force of hir,
  I sayde it shoulde be doon,
And downe I sate with pen in hande,
  and thus my verse begoon.

The Speakers.

Tantalus. Megaera.

Atreus. Seruant.

Thyestes. Philistenes.

Messenger. Chorus.

THYESTES OF
Seneca.

The fyrst Acte.

Tantalus. Megaera.

[Tant.] What furye fell enforceth me
to flee thunhappie seate,
That gape and gaspe with greedy iawe,
the fleeyng foode to eate?
What god to Tantalus the bowres
where breathyng bodies dwell
Doth showe agayne? is ought found worse
then burning thurst of hell
In lakes alowe? or yet worse plague
then hunger is there one,
In vayne that euer gapes for foode?
shall Sisyphus his stone,
That slypper restles rollyng payse
upon my backe be borne?
Or shall my lymms with swyfter swynge
of whirlyng wheele be torne?
Or shall my paynes be Tityus pangs
thencreasyng lyuer styll,
Whose growyng gutts the gnawyng grypes
and fylthie foules doe fyll?
That styll by night repayres the panche
that was deuowrde by daie,
And wondrows wombe unwasted lythe
a new prepared praie.
What yll am I appoynted for?
O cruell iudge of sprights,
Who so thou be that torments newe
among the soules delights
Styll to dyspose, adde what thou canst
to all my deadly woe,
That keper euen of dungeon darke

wolde sore abhorre to knoe,
Or hell it selfe it quake to see:
for dreade wherof lykewyse
I tremble woulde, that plague seeke out:
Loe nowe there dothe aryse
My broode, that shall in mischiefe farre
the grandsiers gylt out goe,
And gyltles make: that fyrst shall dare
unuentred ylls to doe.
What euer place remaineth yet
of all this wycked lande,
I will fyll up: and neuer once
while Pelops house dothe stande
Shall Minos idle be.

Meg. goe foorth
thou detestable spright,
And vexe the godds of wycked house
with rage of furies might. / [Av]
Let them contende with all offence,
by tumes and one by one
Let swoordes be drawen: and meane of ire
procure there maie be none,
Nor shame: let furie blynde enflame
their myndes and wrathfull wyll,
Let yet the parents rage endure,
and longer lastyng yll,
Through childems childem spreade: nor yet
let any leysure be
The former fawte to hate, but styll
more mischiefe newe to see,
Nor one in one: but ere the gylt
with vengeance be acquyt,
Encrease the cryme: from brethem proude
let rule of kyngdome flyt,
To runagates: and swaruyng state
of all unstable things,
Let it by doubtfull dome be toste,
betwene thuncertayne kyngs.
Let mightie fall to miseric,
and myser clyme to myght,
Let chaunce turne thempyre up so downe
both geue and take the ryght.
The banyshed for gylt, whan god
restore theyr countrey shall,
Let them to mischiefe fall a freshe:
as hatefull then to all, / [Aii]
As to them selues: let Ire thinke nought
unlawfull to be doon.

Let brother dreade the brothers wrathe,
and father feare the soon,
And eke the soon his parents powre.
let babes be murdered yll,
But woorse begotte: her spouse betrapt
in treasons trayne to kyll,
Let hatefull wyfe awayte. and let
them beare through seas their warre,
Let bloodshed lye the lands about
and euery feelde afarre:
And ouer conqueryng captaynes greate,
of countreys farre to see,
Let luste tryumphe: in wycked house
let whoordome counted be
The lightst offense: let trust that in
the breasts of brethem breedes,
And truthe be gone: let not from sight
of your so heynous deedes
The heauens be hyd, about the poale
when shyne the starres on hye,
And flames with woonted beames of light
doe decke the paynted skye.
Let darkest night be made, and let
the daye the heauens forsake.
Dysturbe the godds of wycked house,
hate, slaughter, murder make. / [Aiiv]
Fyll up the house of Tantalus
with mischieues and debates.
Adorned be the pyllers hyghe,
with baye and let the gates
Be garnysht greene: and woorthie there
for thy returne to syght,
Be kyndled fyre: let myschiefe doone
in Thracia onse, there lyght
More manyfolde. wherfore dothe yet
the uncles hande delaie?
Dothe yet Tyestes not bewayle
his childerns fatall daye?
Shall he not fynde them where with heate
of fyres that under glowe
The cawdern boyles? their lymms eche one
a peeces let them goe
Dysperste: let fathers fires, with blood
of childern fyled bee:
Let deynties suche be dreste: it is
no myschiefe newe to thee,
To banquet so: beholde, this daie
we haue to the releaste,
And hunger starued wombe of thyne

we sende to suche a feaste.
With fowlest foode thy famyne fyll,
let bloode in wyne be drownde,
And droonke in syght of thee: loe nowe
suche dyshes haue I founde, / [Aiii]
As thou wouldst shonne. staie whither doste
thou hedlong waie nowe take?

Tan. To pooles and floods of hell agayne,
and styll declynyng lake,
And flight of tree full fraight with fruite
that from the lyppes dothe flee,
To dungeon darke of hatefull hell
Let leefull be for mee
To goe: or if to light be thought
the paynes that there I haue,
Remoue me from those lakes agayne:
in mydst of worser waue
Of Phleghethon to stande, in seas
of fyre besette to be.
Who so beneath thy poynted paynes
by destenies decree
Dooste styll endure, who so thou be
that underliest alowe
The hollowe denne, or ruyne who
that feares and ouerthrowe
Of fallyng hyll, or cruell cryes
that sounde in caues of hell
Of greedy roaryng lyons throates,
or flocke of furies fell
Who quakes to knowe, or who the brands
of fyre, in dyrest payne
Halfe burnte throwes of, harke to the voice
of Tantalus: agayne / [Aiiiv.]
That hastes to hell. and (whom the truthe
hath taught) beleue well mee
Loue well your paynes, they are but small.
when shall my happe so bee
To flee the lyght?

Meg. disturbe thou fyrst
this house with dyre discorde:
Debates and battels bryng with thee,
and of th unhappie swoorde
Ill loue to kynges: the cruell brest
stryke through and hatefull harte,
With tumulte madde.

Tan. To suffre paynes

it seemeth well my parte,
Not woes to woorke: I am sent foorth
lyke vapour dyre to ryse,
That breakes the ground, or poyson lyke
the plague, in wondrowse wyse
That slaughter makes. shall I to suche
detested crymes, applye
My nephewes hartes? o parents greate
of godds aboue the skye,
And myne, (though shamde I be to graunte,)
although with greatter payne
My tounge be vexte, yet this to speake
I maie no whit refrayne,
Nor holde my peace: I warne you this,
leaste sacred hand with bloode
Of slaughter dyre, or fransie fell
of frantyke furie woode / [Aiiii]
The aulters stayne, I will resyste:
And garde suche gylt awaye.
With strypes why dooste thou me affryght?
why threatst thou me to fraye
Those crallyng snakes? or famyne fyxt
in emptie wombe, wherfore
Dooste thou reuyue? nowe fryes within
with thyrst enkyndled sore
My hart: and in the bowels burnte,
the boylyng flames doe glowe.

Meg. I followe thee: through all this house
nowe rage and furie throwe.
Let them be dryuen so, and so
let eyther thyrst to see
Eche others blood. full well hathe felte
the cummyng in of thee
This house: and all with wycked touche
of the begun to quake.
Enough it is. repayre agayne
to denns and lothsome lake,
Of floode well knowne. the sadder soyle
with heauy foote of thyne
Agreeued is. seeste thou from sprygs
howe waters doe decline
And inwarde synke? or howe the bankes
lye voyde by droughtie heate?
And whotter blast of fyrie wynde
the fewer cloudes dothe beate? / [Aiiiiv.]
The treese be spoyllde, and naked stande
to sight in withred woodds,
The barayne bowes whose frutes are fled:

the lande betweene the floodds,
With surge of seas on either syde
that woonted to resounde,
And neerer foordes to separate
somtime with lesser grounde,
Nowe broader spredde, it heareth howe
aloofe the waters ryse.
Now Lerna turnes agaynst the streame,
Phoronides lykewyse,
His poares be stoppte. with customde course
Alpheus driues not still,
His hollie waues. the tremblyng topps
of highe Cithaeron hill,
They stande not sure: from height adowne
they shake theyr syluer snowe,
And noble feeldes of Argos feare,
theyr former drought to knowe.
Yea Titan doubtes him selfe, to rolle
the worlde his woonted waye,
And driue by force to former course
The backwarde drawyng daye.

Chorus.

This Argos towne if any God be founde,
and Pisey bowres that famous yet remaine,
Or kyngdomes els to loue of Corinths grounde,
the double hauens, or soondred seas in twayne,
If any loue Taygetus his snowes,
(by winter whiche when they on hills be cast,
By Boreas blasts that from Sarmatia blowes,
with yerely breathe the sommer melts as fast,)
Where cleere Alpheus roons, with floude so colde,
By plaies well knowne that there olimpiks hight:
Let pleasant powre of his from hense withholde
suche turnes of strife, that here they may not light:
Nor nephew woorse then grandsier spryng from us,
or dyrer deedes delight the yonger age.
Let wicked stocke of thyrstie Tantalus,
at lengthe leaue of, and wery be of rage.
Enoughe is doone, and nought preuailde the iust,
or wrong: betrayde is Myrtilus and drownde,
That did betray his dame: and with lyke trust
borne as he bare, himselfe hath made renounde

With changed name the sea: and better knowne
to mariners therof no fable is.
On wicked swoorde the litle infant throwne,
as ran the childe to take his fathers kis, / [Avv.]
Unripe for thaulters offryng fell downe deade:
and with thy hand (o Tantalus) was rent,
With suche a meate for gods thy boordes to spreade.
eternall famine for suche foode is sent,
And thyrst: nor for those deyntie meates unmilde,
might meeter payne apoynted euer bee.
With emptie throate stands Tantalus beguilde,
aboue thy wicked hed there leanes to thee,
Then Phineys fowles in flight a swifter praie.
with burdned bowes declinde on euery syde,
And of his fruites all bent to beare the swaie,
the tree deludes the gapes of hunger wyde.
Though he full greedie, feede theron woulde faine,
so ofte disceyude neglects to touche them yet:
He turnes his eyes, his iawes he doth refrayne,
and famine fixt in closed gumms doth shet.
But then eche branche his plenteous ritches all,
letts lower downe: and apples from on hie
With lyther leaues they flatter like to fall,
and famine styrre: in vayne that bidds to trie
His hands: whiche when he hathe rought foorthe anone
to be beguilde, in higher ayre agayne
The haruest hangs, and fickle fruite is gone.
then thirst him greeues no lesse then hungers payne:
Wherwith when kindled is his boylyng blood
lyke fyre, the wretche the waues to him dothe call,
That meete his mouthe: whiche straight the fleeyng flood
withdrawes, and from the dried foorde doth fall: / [Avi]
And him forsakes that followes them. He drinkes
the duste so deepe of gulphe that from him shrinkes.

The seconde Acte.

Atreus. Servant.

[Atre.] O Dastarde, cowrde, o wretche, and (whiche
the greatest yet of all
To tyrants checke, I counte that maye
in waightie thyngs befall,)
O unreuenged: after gilts

so greate, and brothers guyle,
And truthe trode downe, dooste thou prouoke
with vayne complaynts the whyle
Thy wrathe? alredie nowe to rage
all Argos towne through out
In armour ought of thine, and all
the double seas about
Thy fleete to ryde: nowe all the feeldes
with feruent flames of thyne,
And townes to flasshe it well beseemde:
and euery where to shyne,
The bright drawne sworde: all under foote
of horse let euerie syde
Of Argos lande resounde: and let
the woods not serue to hyde
Our foes, nor yet in haughtie toppe
of hills and mountaynes hie,
The builded towres. The people all
let them to battayle crie,
And cleere forsake Mycenas towne.
who so his hatefull hed
Hydes and defends, with slaughter dyre
let bloud of him be shed.
This pryncely Pelops palaice proude
and bowres of highe renowne,
On me so on my brother too,
let them be beaten downe.
Goe to, do that whiche never shall
no after age allowe,
Nor none it whisht: some mischefe greate
there must be ventred nowe,
Bothe fierce and bloudie: suche as wolde
my brother rather long
To haue byn his. Thou neuer dooste
enoughe reuenge the wrong,
Except thou passe. And feercer facte
what may be doone so dyre,
That his exceedes? doothe euer he
lay downe his hatefull yre?
Doothe euer he the modest meane
in tyme of welthe regarde?
Or quiet in aduersitee?
I knowe his nature harde / [Aviv.]
Untractable, that broke may be,
but neuer will it bende.
For whiche ere he prepare him selfe,
or force to fight entende,
Set fyrst on him: least while I rest
he should on me arise.

He will destroy or be destroyde,
in midst the mischiefe lies,
Preparde to him that takes it first.

Ser. Doothe fame of people nought
Aduerse thee feare?

Atre. The greatest good
of kyngdome may be thought,
That still the people are constraynde
theyr princes deedes as well
To praise, as them to suffer all.

Ser. Whome feare dothe so compell
To prayse, the same his foes to be,
doothe feare enforce agayne:
But who in deede the glory seekes
of fauour true tobtayne,
He rather wolde with harts of eche
be praysde, then tongues of all.

Atre. The truer prayse full ofte hathe hapte
to meaner men to fall:
The false but unto mightie man.
what nill they, let them wyll.

Ser. Let first the kyng will honest thyngs,
and none the same dare nyll. / [Aviiv]

Atre. Where leefull are to him that rules
but honest thyngs alone,
There raygnes the kyng by others leaue.

Ser. And where that shame is none,
Nor care of right, faythe, pietie,
nor holines none staythe,
That kyngdome swarues.

Atre. Suche holines,
suche pietie, and faythe,
Are priuate goods: let kyngs run on
in that that likes their will.

Ser. The brothers hurt a myschiefe counte,
though he be neare so ill.

Atre. It is but right to doe to him,
that wrong to brother were.
What heynous hurt hathe his offense

let passe to proue? or where
Refraynde the gilt? my spouse he stale
away for lecherie,
And raygne by stelthe: the auncient note
and sygne of imperie,
By fraude he gotte: my house by fraude
to vexe he neuer ceaste.
In Pelops house there fostred is
a noble worthy beaste,
The close kept Ramme: the goodly guide
of ritche and fayrest flockes.
By whome through out on euery syde
depend a downe the lockes / [Aviii]
Of glittryng golde, with fleece of whiche
the new kyngs woonted weare
Of Tantalls stocke their sceptors guilt
and mace of might to beare.
Of this the owner raigneth he:
with him of house so gret
The fortune fleethe: this sacred Ramme
a loofe in saftie shet,
In secret meade is wonte to grase,
whiche stone on euery syde
With rockie wall encloseth rounde
the fatall beast to hyde.
This beast (aduentryng mischiefe great)
adioynyng yet for praie
My spoused mate, the traytour false
hathe hens conuayde awaie.
From hens the wrongs of mutuall hate,
and mischefe all up sprong:
In exile wandred he; through out
my kyngdomes all a long:
No parte of myne remayneth safe
to me, from traynes of his.
My feerce deflourde, and loyaltie
of empyre broken is:
My house all vext, my bloud in doubte,
and nought that trust is in,
But brother foe. What staiest thou yet?
at lengthe loe now begin. / [Aviiiv.]
Take hart of Tantalus to thee,
to Pelops cast thine eye:
To suche examples well beseemes,
I should my hands applye.
Tell thou whiche way were best to bryng
that cruell hed to deathe.

Ser. Through perste with swoorde let him be slaine

and yelde his hatefull breathe.

Atre. Thou speakst of thende: but I him wolde
oppresse with greter payne.
Let tyrants vexe with torment more:
shoulde euer in my rayne
Be gentle deathe?

Ser. Dothe pietie
in thee preuaile no whit?

Atre. Departe thou hens all pietie,
if in this house as yet
Thou euer werte: and now let all
the flocke of furies dyre,
And full of strife Erinnys come,
and double brands of fyre
Megaera shakyng: for not yet
enough with furie greate
And rage dothe burne my boylyng brest:
it ought to be repleate,
With monster more.

Ser. What mischefe new
dooste thou in rage prouide?

Atre. Not suche a one as may the means
of woonted greefe abide. / [B]
No gilt will I forbeare, nor none
may be enoughe despight.

Ser. What swordе?

Atr. To litle that.

Ser. what fire?

Atre. And that is yet to light.

Ser. What weapon then shall sorow suche
fynde fit to woorke thy wyll?

Atre. Thyestes selfe.

Ser. Then yre it self
yet thats a greater yll.

Atr. I graunte: a tomblyng tumulte quakes, within
my bosomes loe,

And rounde it rolles: I moued am
and wote not wherunto.
But drawen I am: from botome deepe
the roryng soyle dothe crie
The day so fayre with thounder soundes,
and house as all from hie
Were rent, from roofe, and rafters craks:
and lares turnde abought
Have wryde theyr syght: so beete, so beete,
let mischiefe suche be sought,
As ye O gods wolde feare.

Ser. What thyng
seekste thou to bryng to pas?
[Atre.] I note what greater thyng my mynde,
and more then woont it was
Aboue the reatche that men are woont
to woorke, begyns to swell:
And staythe with slouthfull hands. What thyng
it is I can not tell: / [Bv.]
But great it is. Beete so, my mynde
now in this feate proceede,
For Atreus and Thyestes bothe,
it were a worthy deede.
Let eche of us the crime commit.
The Thracian house did se
Suche wicked tables once: I graunte
the mischiefe great to be,
But done ere this: some greater gilt
and mischiefe more, let yre
Fynde out. The stomak of thy sonne
o father thou enspyre,
And syster eke, lyke is the cause:
assist me with your powre,
And dryue my hande: let gredy pa-
rents all his babes deuowre,
And glad to rent his children be:
and on their lyms to feede.
Enough, and well it is deuysde:
this pleaseth me in deede.
In meane time where is he? so long
and innocent wherfore
Dooth Atreus walke? before myne eyes
alredie more and more
The shade of suche a slaughter walkes:
the want of children cast,
In fathers iawes. But why my mynde,
yet dreadst thou so at last,
And fayntst before thou enterprise?

it must be doone, let be.
That whiche in all this mischefe is
the greatest gilt to se,
Let him commit.

Ser. but what disceyte
may we for him prepare,
Wherby betrapt he may be drawen,
to fall into the snare?
He wotes full well we are his foes.

Atre. He coulde not taken be,
Except him selfe woulde take: but now
my kyngdomes hopeth he.
For hope of this he wolde not feare
to meete the mightie Joue,
Though him he thretned to destroy,
with lightnyng from aboue.
For hope of this to passe the threats
of waues he will not fayle,
Nor dread no whit by doubteull shelues,
of Lybike seas to sayle.
For hope of this (whiche thyng he dothe
the woorst of all beleeue,)
He will his brother see.

Ser. Who shall
of peace the promise geeue?
Whome wyll he trust?

Atre. His evill hope
will soone beleue it well.
Yet to my sons the charge which they
shall to theyr unkle tell, / [Biiv.]
We will commit: that home he woulde
from exyle come againe,
And miseries for kyngdome chaunge,
and ouer Argos raygne
A kyng of halfe: and though to harde
of hart our prayers all
Him self despise, his children yet
nought wotyng what may fall,
With trauels tierde, and apte to be
entysde from miserie,
Requests will moue: on thone syde his
desyre of Imperie,
On thother syde his pouertie,
and labour harde to see,
Wyll him subdue and make to yelde,

although full stoute he bee.

Ser. His trauells now the time hath made
to seeme to him but small.

Atre. Not so: for day by day the greefe
of yll encreaseth all.
Tys light to suffer miseries,
but heuy them t endure.

Ser. Yet other messengers to sende,
in suche affayres procure.

Atre. The yonger sorte the worse precepts
do easelie harken to.

Ser. What thyng against their unkle now,
you them enstrukte to do,
Perhaps with you to worke the like,
they will not be a dred.
Suche mischiefe wrought hath ofte returnde
upon the workers hed.

Atre. Though neuer man to them the wayes
of guile and gilt haue taught,
Yet kyngdome will. Fearst thou they shoulde
be made by counsell naught?
They are so borne. That whiche thou calste
a cruell enterpryse
And dyrely deemest doone to be,
and wickedly like wyse,
Perhaps is wrought against me there.

Ser. And shall your soons of this
Disceyte beware that worke you will?
no secretnes there is
In theyr so greene and tender yeres:
they will your traynes disclose.

Atre. A priuie counsell cloase to keepe,
is learnde with many woes.

Ser. And will ye them, by whome ye woulde
he shoulde beguiled bee,
Them selues beguilde?

At. Nay let the bothe
from faute and blame be free.
For what shall neede in mischiefes suche

as I to woorke entende,
To myngle them? let all my hate
by me alone take ende.
Thou leauste thy purpose yll my minde:
yf thou thine owne forbeare,
Thou sparest him. Wherfore of this
let Agamemnon heare
Be minister: and client eke
of mine for suche a deede,
Let Menelaus present be:
truthe of thuncertaine seede,
By suche a practise may be tride:
if it refuse they shall,
Nor of debate will bearers be,
if they him unkle call,
He is their father: let them goe.
but muche the fearfull face
Bewrayes it selfe: euen him that faynes
the secret wayghtie case,
Dothe ofte betray: let them therfore
not know, how greate a guyle
They goe about. And thou these thyngs
in secret keepe the whyle.

Ser. I neede not warned be, for these
within my bosome deepe,
Bothe faythe, and feare, but chiefely faythe,
dothe shet and closely keepe. / [Biiii]

Chorus.

The noble house at lengthe of highe renowne,
the famous stocke of auncient Inachus,
Appeasde and layde the threats of brethern downe.
but now what furie styrrs and dryues you thus,
Eche one to thyrst the others bloud agayne,
or get by gylt the golden mace in hande?
Ye litle wote that so desyre to raygne,
in what estate or place dothe kyngdome stande.
Not ritches make a kyng or highe renowne,
not garnisht weede with purple Tyrian die,
Not loftie lookes, or head encloasde with crowne,
not glittryng beames with golde and turretts hie.
A kyng he is, that feare hath layde asyde,
and all affects that in the brest are bred:

Whome impotent ambition dothe not guyde,
nor fickle fauour hathe of people led.
Nor all that west in metalls mynes hath founde,
or chanell cleere of golden Tagus showes,
Nor all the grayne that thrasshed is on grounde,
that with the heate of libyk haruest glowes.
Nor whome the flasshe of lightnyng flame shall beate,
nor eastern wynde that smiles uppon the seas,
Nor swellyng surge with rage of wynde repleate,
or greedie gulphe of Adria displease. / [Biiiiv]
Whome not the pricke of souldiers sharpest speare,
or poynted pyke in hand hath made to rue,
Nor whome the glympse of swoorde myght cause to feare,
or bright drawen blade of glyttryng steele subdue.
Who in the seate of saftie setes his feete,
beholdes all happs how under him they lye,
And gladlie runs his fatall daie to meete,
nor ought complaynes or grudgeth for to dye.
Though present were the prynces euery chone,
the scattered Dakes to chase that woonted be,
That shynyng seas beset with precious stone,
and red sea coastes doe holde, lyke bloude to see:
Or they which els the Caspian mountaynes hye,
from Sarmats strong with all theyr power withholde:
Or he that on the floude of Danubye,
in frost a foote to trauayle dare be bolde:
Or Seres in what euer place they lye,
renounde with fleece that there of sylke dothe spryng,
They neuer myght the truthe hereof denye,
it is the mynde that onely makes a kyng.
There is no neede of sturdie steedes in warre,
no neede with armes or arrowes els to fyght,
That Parthus woonts with bowe to fling from farre,
while from the feelde he falsely fayneth flight.
Nor yet to siege no neede it is to brynge,
great goons in carts to ouerthrowe the wall,
That from far of theyr battryng pellettes slyng.
a kyng he is that feareth nought at all. / [Bv]
Eche man him selfe this kyngdome geeues at hande.
let who so lyst with myghtie mace to raygne,
In tyckle toppe of court delyght to stande.
let me the sweete and quiet rest obtayne.
So sette in place obscure and lowe degree,
of pleasaunt rest I shall the sweetnes knoe.
My lyfe unknowne to them that noble be,
shall in the steppe of secret sylence goe.
Thus when my daies at length are ouerpast,
and tyme without all troublous tumulte spent,

An aged man I shall departe at last,
In meane estate, to dye full well content.
But greuous is to him the deathe, that when
so farre abrode the bruyte of him is blowne,
That knowne he is to muche to other men:
departeth yet unto him selfe unknowne.

The thyrde Acte.

Thyestes. Phylisthenes.

[Thy.] My countrey bowres so long wysht for,
and Argos rytches all,
Cheefe good that unto banysht men,
and mysers maie befall,
The touche of soyle where borne I was,
and godds of natyue lande,
(If godds they be,) and sacred towres
I see of Cyclops hande: / [Bvv.]
That represent then all mans woorke,
a greater maiestie.
Renowned stadies to my youth,
where noble sometyme I
Haue not so seelde as onse, the palme
in fathers charyot woon.
All Argos now to meete with me,
and people fast will roon:
But Atreus to. yet rather leade
in woods agayne thy flight,
And bushes thicke, and hyd among
the brutyshe beastes from sight,
Lyke lyfe to theyrs: where splendent pompe
of court and princely pryde,
May not with flattryng fulgent face,
allure thine eyes asyde.
With whom the kyngdome geuen is,
beholde, and well regarde,
Beset but late with suche mishaps,
as all men counte full harde,
I stoute and ioyfull was: but now
agayne thus into feare
I am returnde. my mynde mysdoutes,
and backeward seekes to beare
My bodye hens: and forthe I drawe

my pase agaynst my wyll.

Phy. With slouthfull steppe (what meaneth this?)
my father standeth still, / [Bvi]
And turnes his face and holdes him selfe,
in doute what thyng to do.

Thy. What thyng (my mynde) consyderst thou?
or els so long wherto
Dooste thou so easy counsayle wrest?
wylt thou to thynges unsure
Thy brother and the kyngdome trust?
fearst thou those ils tendure
Now ouercome, and mielder made?
and trauayls dooste thou flee
That well were plaste? it the auayles,
a myser now to bee.
Turne hens thy pace: while leefull is,
and keepe thee from his hande.

Phyl. What cause the dryues (o father deere)
thus from thy natiue lande,
Now seene to shrynke? what makes thee thus
from thyngs so good at last
Withdrawe thy selfe? thy brother comes
whose ires be ouerpast,
And halfe the kyngdome geues, and of
the house Dylacerate,
Repayres the partes: and thee restores
agayne to former state.

Thyest. The cause of feare that I know not,
thou dooste requyre to heare.
I see nothyng that makes me dread,
and yet I greatly feare.
I woulde goe on, but yet my lymms
with weery leggs doe slacke:
And other waie then I woulde passe,
I am withholden backe.
So ofte the shippe that driuen is
with winde and eke with ore,
The swellyng surge resistyng bothe,
beates backe upon the shore.

Phyl. Yet ouercome what euer stayes,
and thus doth let your mynde,
And see what are at your returne,
preparde for you to fynde.
You may o father raigne.

Thy. I maie
but then when die I mought.

Ph. Cheefe thing is powre.

Th. nought worth at all,
if thou desyre it nought.

Phyl. You shall it to your children leaue.

Thy. the kyngdome takes not twayne.

Phy. Who maie be happie, rather wolde
he myser yet remayne?

Thy. Beleue me well, with titles false
the greate thyngs us delight:
And heuye happs in vayne are fearde
while high I stoode in sight,
I neuer stynted then to quake,
and selfe same swoorde to feare,
That hanged by myne owne syde was.
Oh how great good it were, / [Bvii]
With none to strive, but careles foode
to eate and rest to knowe?
The greater gylts they enter not
in cotage sette alowe:
And safer foode is fed upon,
at narrowe boorde alwaye,
While droonke in golde the poyson is:
by proofe well taught I saye,
That euyll happs before the good
to loue it lykes my wyll.
Of haughtie house that stands alofte
in tickle toppe of hyll,
And swayes asyde, the citee lowe
neede neuer be affryght:
Nor in the toppe of roofe aboue,
there shynes no Iuery bright,
Nor watcheman none defendes my sleepes
by night, or gardes my rest:
With fleete I fyshe not, nor the seas
I haue not backwarde prest,
Nor turnde to flight with builded wall:
nor wicked belly I
With taxes of the people fedde:
nor parcell none doth ly,
Of grounde of mine beyonde the Getes:

and Parthians farre about:
Nor worshiped with francansence
I am, nor (Joue shette out)
My Aulters decked are: nor none
in toppe of house doth stande
In garden treese, nor kyndled yet
with helpe of eche mans hande,
The bathes dooe smoke: nor yet are dayes
in slouthfull slumbers led,
Nor nightes paste foorth in watche and wine,
without the rest of bed.
We nothyng feare, the house is safe
without the hydden knyfe,
And poore estate the sweetenes feeles,
of rest and quyet lyfe.
Greate kyngdome is to be content,
without the same to lyue.

Phy. Yet shoulde it not refused be,
if god the kyngdome gyue.

Thy. Not yet desyerd it ought to be.

Phy. your brother bydds you rayne.

Thy. Bydds he? the more is to be fearde:
there lurketh there some trayne.

Phy. From whens it fell, yet pietie
is woonte to turne at lengthe:
And love unfaynde, repayres agayne
his erste omitted strengthe.

Thy. Dothe Atreus then his brother love?
eche Ursa fyrst on hye,
The seas shall washe, and swellyng surge
of seas of Sicylye / [Bviii]
Shall rest and all asswaged be,
and come to rypenes growe
In botome of Ionian seas,
and darkest night shall showe
And spreade the light about the soyle:
the waters with the fyre,
The lyfe with death; the wynde with seas,
shall frendshyp fyrst requyre,
And be at league.

Phy. of what deceite
are you so dreadfull here?

Thy, Of euery chone: what ende at length
myght I prouide of feare?
In all he can he hateth me.

Phy. to you what hurt can he?

Thy. As for my selfe I nothyng dread:
you lyttle babes make me
Afrayde of him.

Phy. dreade ye to be
beguylde when caught ye are?
To late it is to shoon the trayne
in myddle of the snare.
But goe we on, this (father) is
to you my last request.

Thy. I followe you. I leade you not.

Phy. god turne it to the best,
That well deuysed is for good,
passe foorth with cherefull pace. / [Bviiiv]

The seconde Sceane.

Atreus. Thyestes.

[Atr.] Entrapt in trayne the beast is caught
and in the snare dothe fall:
Bothe him, and eke of hated stocke
with him the ofspryng all,
About the fathers syde I see:
and now in safetie stands
And surest ground my wrathfull hate:
nowe comes into my hands
At length Thyestes: ye he comes
and all at ones to me.
I scant refrayne my selfe, and scant
may anger brydled be.
So when the bloodhounde seekes the beast,
by steppe and quycke of sent
Drawes in the leame, and pace by pace
to wynde the wayes he went,

With nose to soyle dothe hunt,
while he the boare aloofe hath founde
Farre of by sent, he yet refraynes
and wanders through the grounde
With sylent mouth: but when at hand
he once perceiues the praye,
With al the strength he hath he striues,
with voyce and calls awaye
His lyngring maister, and from him
by force out breaketh he.
When Ire dothe hope the present blood,
it may not hydden be.
Yet let it hydden be. beholde,
with uglye heare to syght
How yrkesomely defourmde with fylthe
his fowlest face is dyght,
How lothsome lyes his bearde unkempt:
but let us frendship fayne.
To see my brother me delights:
geue now to me agayne
Embrasyng long desyred for:
what euer stryfe there was
Before this time betwene us twayne,
forget and let it pas:
Fro this daie foorth let brothers loue,
let blood, and lawe of kynde
Regarded be, let all debate
be slakte in eythers mynde.

Thy. I coulde excuse my selfe, except
thou werte as now thou arte.
But (Atreus) now I graunte, the faute
was myne in euery parte: / [Cv.]
And I offended haue in all.
my cause the worse to bee,
Your this daies kindnes makes: in deede
a gyltie wight is hee,
That wolde so good a brother hurt
as you, in any whyt.
But nowe with teares I must entreate,
and fyrst I me submit.
These hands that at thy feete doe lye,
doe thee beseeche and praye,
That yre and hate be layde asyde,
and from thy bosome maye
Be scraped out: and cleere forgot.
for pledges take thou theese
O brother deere, these gyltles babes.

Atr. thy hands yet from my kneese
Remoue, and rather me to take
in armes, uppon me fall.
And ye o aydes of elders age,
ye lyttle infants all,
Me clyppe and colle about the necke:
this fowle attyre forsake,
And spare myne eyes that pitie it,
and fresher vesture take
Lyke myne to see. and you with ioye,
the halfe of emperie
Deere brother take: the greater prayse
shall come to me therby,
Our fathers seate to yelde to you,
and brother to releeue.
To haue a kyngdome is but chaunce,
but vertue it to geeue.

Thy. A iust rewarde for suche deserts,
the godds (o brother deare)
Repaye to the: but on my hed
a regall crowne to weare,
My lothsome lyfe denyes: and farre
dothe from the sceptor flee
My hande unhappie: in the mydst
let leefull be for mee
Of men to lurke.

Atre. this kindome can
with twayne full well agree.

Thy. What euer is (o brother) yours,
I count it myne to bee.

Atr. Who wolde dame fortunes gyfts refuse,
if she him rayse to raygne?

Thy. The gyfts of hir eche man it wotes,
how soone they passe agayne.

Atre. ye me depryue of glory greate,
except ye th'empyre take.

Thy. You haue your prayse in offryng it,
and I it to forsake.
And full perswaded to refuse
the kyngdome, am I still.

Atre. Except your part ye will susteine

/ [Cii]

myne owne forsake I will. / [Ciiv]

Thy. I take it then. and beare I will
the name thereof alone:
The ryghts and armes, as well as myne
they shall be yours eche one.

Atre. The regall crowne as you besemes
uppon your hed then take:
And I thappointed sacrifice
for godds, will now goe make.

Chorus.

Wolde any man it weene? that cruell wyght
Atreus, of mynde so impotent to see
Was soone astonied with his brothers syght.
no greater force then pietee may be:
Where kynred is not, lasteth euery threate,
whom true loue holdes, it holdes eternallye.
The wrathe but late with causes kyndled greate
all fauour brake, and dyd to battayle crye,
Whan horsemen did resounde on euery syde,
the swoordes eche where, then glystred more and more:
Which ragyng Mars with often stroke dyd guyde
the fresher bloud to shedde yet thyrstyng sore.
But loue the sworde agaynst theyr wills doth swage,
and them to peace perswades with hand in hand.
So sodeyne rest, amyd so greate a rage
what god hath made? throughout Mycenas lande / [Ciii]
The hames clynkt, but late of cyuill stryfe:
and for theyr babes dyd fearefull mothers quake,
Her armed spouse to leese muche fearde the wyfe,
when swoorde was made the scabberde to forsake,
That now by rest with rust was ouergrowne.
some to repayre the walles that dyd decaye,
And some to strength the towres halfe ouerthrowne,
and some the gates wyth gyns of yme to staye
Full busie were, and dreadfull watche by nyght
from turret highe dyd ouerlooke the towne.
Woorse is then warre it selfe the feare of fyght.
now are the threats of cruell swoorde layde downe,
And now the rumor whistts of battayles sowne,
the noyse of crooked trumpet sylent lyes,

And quiete peace returnes to ioyfull towne.
so when the waues of swelling surge aryse,

While Corus wynde the Brutian seas doth smight,
and Scylla soundes from hollowe caues within,
And shipmen are with waftyng waues affryght,
Charybdis casts that erst it had droonke in:
And Cyclops fierce his father yet dothe dred,
in Aetna banke that feruent is with heates,
Leste quenched be with waues that overshed
the fyre that from eternall fornace beates:
And poore Laertes thinkes his kyngdomes all
may drowned be, and Ithaca doth quake:
If once the force of wyndes begyn to fall,
the sea lythe downe more mylde then standyng lake. / [Ciiiv]
The deepe, where shipps so wyde full dreadfull were
to passe, with sayles on eyther syde out spred
Now fallne adowne, the lesser boate dothe beare:
and leysure is to vewe the fyshes ded
Euen there, where late with tempest bette uppone
the shaken Cyclades were with seas agast.
No state endures, the payne and pleasure, one
to other yeldes, and ioyes be sonest past.
One howre setts up the thynges that lowest bee.
he that the crownes to prynces dothe deuyde,
Whom people please with bendyng of the knee,
and at whose becke theyr battayles laye asyde
The Meades, and Indians eke to Phebus nye,
and Dakes that Parthians doe with horsemen threate,
Hym selfe yet holdes his sceptors doutfullye,
and men of myght he feares and chaunces greate
(That eche estate may turne) and doutfull howre.
o ye, whom lorde of lande and waters wyde,
Of lyfe and death graunts here to haue the powre,
laye ye your proude and lofty lookes asyde:
What your inferiour feares of you amys,
that your superiour threats to you agayne.
To greater kyng, eche kyng a subiect is.
whom dawne of day hath seene in pryde to raygne,
Hym ouerthrowne hath seene the euenyng late.
let none reioyce to muche that good hath got,
Let none dispaire of best in worst estate.
for Clothoe myngles all, and suffreth not / [Ciiii]
Fortune to stande: but fates about dothe dryue.
suche friendship fynde with godds yet no man might,
That he the morowe might be sure to lyue.
the god our things all tost and turned quight
Rolles with a whirle wynde.

The fourth Acte.

Messenger. Chorus.

[Mess.] What whirlwinde mai me hedlong driue
and up in ayre me flyng,
And wrappe in darkest cloude, wherby
it might so heynous thyng,
Take from mine eyes? o wicked house
that euen of Pelops ought
And Tantalus abhorred be.

Cho. what new thing hast thou brought?

Mess. What lande is this? lythe Sparta here,
and Argos, that hath bred
So wycked brethern? and the grounde
of Corinth liyng spred
Betwene the seas? or Ister ells
where woont to take their flight,
Are people wylde? or that whiche woonts
with snowe to shyne so bright
Hircana lande? or els do here
the wandryng Scythians dwell?

Cho. What monstrous mischefe is this place
then giltie of? that tell,
And this declare to us at large
what euer be the ill.

Mess. If once my minde may stay it self,
and quakyng limms I will.
But yet of suche a cruell deede
before mine eyes the feare
And Image walkes: ye ragyng stormes
now far from hens me beare
And to that place me driue, to whiche
now driuen is the day
Thus drawen from hens.

Ch. Our mindes ye holde
yet still in doubtfull stay.
Tell what it is ye so abhorre.

The author therof showe.
I aske not who, but which of them:
that quickly let us knowe.

Mess. In Pelopps Turret highe, a parte
there is of palaice wyde
That towarde the southe erected leanes,
of whiche the utter syde
With equall toppe to mountayne stands,
and on the citie lies,
And people proude agaynst theyr prince
yf once the traytours rise / [Cv]
Hath underneathe his battryng stroke:
there shines the place in sight
Where woont the people to frequent,
whose golden beames so bright
The noble spotted pillers graye,
of marble dooe supporte.
Within this place well knowen to men,
where they so ofte resorte,
To many other roomes about
the noble courte dothe goe.
The priuie Palaice underlieth
in secret place aloe,
With ditche full deepe that dothe enclose
the woode of priuetee,
And hidden partes of kyngdome olde:
where neuer grew no tree
That cherefull bowes is woont to beare,
with knife or lopped be,
But Taxe, and Cypresse and with tree
of Holme full blacke to se
Dothe becke and bende the woode so darke:
alofte aboue all theese
The higher oke dothe ouerlooke,
surmountyng all the treese.
From hens with lucke the raygne to take,
accustomde are the kyngs,
From hens in danger ayde to aske,
and doome in doubtfull thyngs. / [Cvv.]
To this affixed are the gifts,
the soundyng Trumpetts bright,
The Chariots broke, and spoyles of sea
that now Myrtoon hight,
There hang the wheeles once won by crafte
of falser axell tree,
And euery other conquests note:
here leefull is to see
The Phrygyan tyre of Pelops hed:

the spoyle of enmies heere,
And of Barbarian triumphe lefte,
the paynted gorgeous geere.
A lothesome spryng stands under shade,
and slouthfull course dothe take,
With water blacke: euen such as is,
of Yrksome Stygian lake
The ugly waue, wherby are woont,
to sweare the goddes on hie.
Here all the night the grisly ghosts
and gods of death to crie
The fame reportes: with clinkyng chaynes
resoundes the woode eche where,
The sprights crie out: and euery thyng
that dredfull is to heare,
May there be seene: of ugly shapes
from olde Sepulchres sent
A fearfull flocke dothe wander there,
and in that place frequent / [Cvi]
Woorse thyngs then euer yet were knowne:
ye all the wood full ofte
With flame is woont to flasshe, and all
the higher trees alofte
Without a fyre dooe burne: and ofte
the wood besyde all this
With triple barkyng roares at once:
full ofte the palaice is
Affright with shapes, nor light of day
may once the terrour quell.
Eternall night dothe holde the place,
and darknes there of hell
In mid day raignes: from hens to them
that pray, out of the grounde
The certayne answers geuen are,
what time with dredfull sounde
From secret place the fates be tolde,
and dongeon roares within
While of the God breakes out the voice:
wherto when entred in
Fierce Atreus was, that did with him
his brothers children trayle,
Dekt are the aulters: who (alas)
may it enoughe bewayle?
Behynde the infants backs anone
he knyt their noble hands,
And eke their heauie heds about
he bounde with purple bands: / [Cviv.]
There wanted there no Frankensence,
nor yet the holy wine,

Nor knife to cut the sacrifice,
besprinkt with leuens fine.
Kept is in all the order due,
least suche a mischiefe grette
Should not be ordred well.

Chor. who dothe
his hande on swoorde then sette?

Mess. He is him selfe the preest, and he
him selfe the dedly verse
With praier dyre from feruent mouthe
dothe syng and ofte reherse.
And he at thaulters stands him selfe,
he them assygnde to die
Dothe handle, and in order set,
and to the knife applie,
He lights the fyres, no rights were lefte
of sacryfice undone.
The woode then quakte, and all at ones
from tremblyng grounde anone
The Palaice beckte, in doubte whiche way
the payse therof woulde fall,
And shakyng as in waues it stoode:
from thayre and therwithall
A blasyng starre that foulest trayne
drewe after him dothe goe:
The wynes that in the fyres were cast,
with changed licour floe, / [Cvii]
And turne to bloud: and twyse or thryse
thattyre fell from his hed,
The Iuerie bright in Temples seemde
to weepe and teares to shed.
The sights amasde all other men,
but stedfast yet alway
Of mynde, unmoued Atreus stands,
and euen the godds dothe fray
That threaten him, and all delay
forsaken by and bye
To thaulters turnes, and therwithall
a syde he lookes awrye.
As hungrie tygre woonts that dothe
in gangey woods remayne
With doubtfull pace to range and roame
betweene the bullocks twayne,
Of eyther praye full couetous,
and yet uncertayne where
She fyrst may bite, and roryng throate
now turnes the tone to teare

And then to thother straight returnes,
and doubtfull famine holdes:
So Atreus dire, betwene the babes
dothe stand and them beholdes
On whome he poyntes to slake his yre:
fyrst slaughter where to make,
He doubtes: or whome he shoulde agayne
for seconde offryng take. / [Cviiv.]
Yet skylls it nought, but yet he doubtes,
and suche a crueltie
It him deligths to order well.

Chor. Whome take he fyrst to die?

Mess. First place, least in him thinke ye might
no piete to remayne
To grandsier dedicated is,
fyrst Tantalus is slayne.

Chor. With what a minde and countnaunce , coulde
the boye his death sustayne?

Mess. All careles of him selfe he stoode,
nor once he woulde in vayne
His prayers leese. But Atreus fierce
the swoorde in him at last
In deepe and deadly wounde dothe hide
to hilts, and gripyng fast
His throate in hand, he thrust him throughe.
The swoorde then drawne awaye
When long the body had uphelde
it selfe in doubtfull staye,
Whiche way to fall, at lengthe uppon
the unkle downe it falles.
And then to thaulters cruellie
Philisthenes he tralles,
And on his brother throwes: and strayght
his necke of cutteth hee.
The carcase hedlong falles to grounde:
apiteous thyng to see, / [Cviii]
The mournyng hed, with murmure yet
uncertayne dothe complayne.

Chor. What after double deathe dothe he
and slaughter then of twayne?
Spares he the childe? or gilt on gilt
agayne yet heapeth he?

Mess. As long maend Lyon feerce amid

the wood of Armenie,
The drove pursues and conquest makes
of slaughter many one,
Though now defiled be his iawes
with bloude, and hunger gone
Yet slaketh not his Irefull rage,
with bloud of bulles so greate,
But slouthfull now, with weery toothe
the lesser calues dothe threate:
None other wyse dothe Atreus rage,
and swels with anger straynde,
And holdyng now the sworde in hande
with double slaughter staynde,
Regardyng not where fell his rage,
with cursed hand unmilde
He strake it through his body quight:
at bosome of the childe
The blade gothe in, and at the backe
agayne out went the same.
He falles, and quenchyng with his bloud
the aulters sacred flame, / [Cviiiv.]
Of eyther wounde at lengthe he dieth.

Chor. O heynous hatefull acte.

Mess. Abhorre ye this? ye heare not yet
the ende of all the facte,
There followes more.

Cho. A fiercer thyng,
or worse then this to see
Could nature beare?

Me. why thinke ye this
of gilt the ende to bee?
It is but parte.

Cho. what coulde be more?
to cruell beasts he cast
Perhapps their bodies to be tome,
and kept from fyres at last.

Mess. Woulde god he had: that neuer tombe
the deade might ouerhyde,
Nor flames dissolve, though them for foode
to fowles in pastures wyde
He had out throwen, or them for pray
to cruell beasts woulde flyng.
That whiche the worste was wont to be,

were heere a wisshed thyng,
That them theyr father sawe untombde,
but oh more cursed crime
Uncredible, the whiche denie
wyll men of after time:
From bosomes yet alyue out drawne
the tremblyng bowells shake,
The vaynes yet breathe, the fearefull harte
dothe yet bothe pante and quake: / [D]
But he the strynge dothe turne in hande,
and destenies beholde,
And of the gutts the sygnes eche one
dothe vewe not fully colde.
When him the sacrifice had pleasde,
his diligence he putts
To dresse his brothers banquet now:
and streyght a soonder cutts
The bodies into quarters all,
and by the stoompes anone
The shoulders wide, and brawnes of armes,
he strikes of euery chone.
He laies abrode theyr naked lymms,
and cutts away the bones:
The only heds he keepes, and hands
to him comitted ones.
Some of the gutts are broachte, and in
the fyres that burne ful sloe
They droppe: the boylyng liccour some
dothe tomble to and froe
In moornyng cawdern: from the flesshe
that ouerstands alofte
The fyre dothe flie, and scatter out,
and into chimney ofte
Up heapt agayne, and there constraynde
by force to tary yet
Unwillyng burnes: the lyuer makes
great noyse uppon the spit, / [Dv]
Nor easely wote I, if the flesshe,
or flames they be that cry,
But crie they doe: the fyre like pitche
it fumeth by and by:
Nor yet the smoke it selfe so sadde,
like filthy miste in sight
Ascendeth up as woont it is,
nor takes his way upright,
But euen the Goddes and house it dothe
with filthie fume defyle.
O pacient Phoebus though from hence
thou backward flee the whyle,

And in the midst of heauen aboue
dooste drowne the broken day,
Thou fleeste to late: the father eates
his children well away,
And lymms to whiche he onse gaue lyfe,
with cursed iawe dothe teare.
He shynes with oyntment shed full sweete
all rounde aboute his heare,
Replete with wyne: and often times
so cursed kynde of food
His mouth hath helde that would not downe,
but yet this one thyng good
In all thy ylls (Thyestes) is,
that them thou dooste not knoe.
And yet shall that not long endure,
though Titan backward goe / [Dii]
And chariots turne against him selfe,
to meete the waies he went,
And heauie night so heynous deede
to keepe from sight be sent,
And out of time from east arise,
so foule a facte to hide,
Yet shall the whole at lengthe be seene:
thy ills shall all be spide.

Chorus.

Whiche way O prince of lands and godds on hie,
at whose uprise eftsones of shadowde night
All bewtie fleethe, which way turnst thou awrie?
and drawste the day in midst of heauen to flight?
Why dooste thou (Phebus) hide from us thy sight?
not yet the watche that later howre brynges in,
Dothe Vesper warne the starrs to kindle light.
not yet dothe turne of Hespers wheele begin
To loase thy chare his well deserued way.
the Trumpet thirde not yet hath blowen his blaste
While towarde the night begins to yelde the day.
great woonder hath of sodayne suppers haste
The Ploweman, yet whose oxen are untierde.
from woonted course of heauen what drawes thee backe?
What causes haue from certaine race conspierde
to turne thy horse? do yet from dongeon blacke / [Diiv.]

Of hollowe Hell, the conquerde Gyants proue
  a fresshe assaute? dothe Tityus yet assay
With trenched hart and wounded wombe to moue
  the former yres? or from the hill away
Hath now Typhoeus wounde his syde by might?
  is up to heauen the way erected hie
Of phlegrey foes by mountaynes set upright?
  and now dothe Ossa Pelion ouerlie?
The woonted turnes are gone of day and night.
  the rise of sun, nor fall shalbe no more.
Aurora dewysh mother of the light
  that woonts to sende the horses out before,
Dothe wonder muche agayne returnde to see
  her dawnyng light: she wotts not how to ease
The wery wheeles, nor manes that smokyng bee
  of horse with sweate, to bathe amyd the seas.
Him selfe unwoonted there to lodge lykewyse,
  dothe settyng Sun againe the mornyng see,
And now commaundes the darknes up to ryse,
  before the night to come prepared bee.
About the poals yet glowthe no fyre in sight:
  nor light of Moone the shades dothe comfort yet.
What so it be, God graunt it be the night.
  our harts dooe quake with feare oppressed gret,
And dredfull are least heauen and erthe and all
  with fatall ruine shaken shall decay:
And least on gods agayne, and men shall fall
  disfigurde Chaos: and the land away
The seas, and fyres, and of the glorious skise
  the wandryng lampes, least nature yet shall hide.
Now shall no more with blase of his uprise,
  the lorde of starres that leades the worlde so wide,
Of Sommer bothe and winter gyue the markes.
  nor yet the Moone with Phaebus flames that burnes,
Shall take from us by night the dredfull carkes,
  with swyfter course or passe her brothers turnes,
While compasse lesse the fetts in crooked race:
  the Gods on heapes shall out of order fall
And eche with other myngled be in place.
  the wried way of holly planetts all,
With pathe a sloape that dothe deuide the Zones,
  that beares the sygnes and yeares in course dothe bryng,
Shall see the starres with him fall downe at ones.
  and he that fyrst not yet with gentle spryng,
The temperate gale dothe geue to sayles, the Ramme
  shall hedlong fall a downe to seas agayne,
Through whiche he once with fearfull hellen swamme.
  next him the Bulle that dothe with horne sustayne
The systers seuen, with him shall ouerturne

the twyns, and armes of crooked cancer all.
The Lyon whot, (that woonts the soyle to burne)
of Hercules, agayne from heauen shall fall.
To lands once lefte the virgin shalbe throwne,
and leuelde payse of balance sway alowe,
And drawe with them the styngyng Scorpion downe.
so likewyse he that holdes in Thessale bowe / [Diiiv.]
His swifte well fethred arrowes Chiron olde,
shall breake the same and eke shall leese his shotte.
And Capricorne that brynges the winter colde
shall ouerturne, and breake thy water potte
Who so thou be: and downe with thee to grounde,
the last of all the signes shall Pisces fall.
And monsters eke in seas yet neuer drounde,
the water gulphe shall ouer whelme them all.
And he whiche dothe betwene eche Ursa glyde,
lyke crooked floode, the slipper serpent twynde:
And lesser Beare by greater Dragons syde,
full colde with frost congealed harde by kynde,
And carter dulle that slowlie guides his wayne,
unstable shall bootes fall from hie.
We are thought meete of all men whom agayne,
should hugy heape of Chaos ouer lie,
And worlde oppresse with ouer turned was.
the latest age now falleth us uppon.
With evill happe we are begotte alas,
if wretches we haue lost the sight of son,
Or him by faught enforced haue to flie.
let our complaynts yet goe, and feare be past:
He greedy is of lyfe, that will not die
when all the worlde shall ende with him at last. / [Diiii]

The fifth Acte.

Atreus alone.

Nowe equall with the starrs I goe,
beyonde eche other wight,
with haughtie hed the heauens aboue,
and highest Poale I smight.
The kyngdome now and seate I holde,
where once my father raynde.
I now let goe the godds: for all

my will I haue obtaynde.
Enoughe and well; ye euen enoughe
for me I am acquit.
But whie enoughe? I will proceede,
and fyll the father yet:
With bloud of his: least any shame
should me restrayne at all,
The day is gone: goe to therfore,
while thee the heauen dothe call.
Wolde god I coulde agaynst their wills
yet holde the gods that flee,
And of reuengyng disshe, constrayne
them witnesses to be:
But yet (whiche well enoughe is wrought,)
let it the father see.
In spight of all the drowned day,
I wyll remoue from thee
The darkenes all, in shade whereof
doe lurke thy myseries.
And guest at suche a banquet now
to long he careles lies,
With mery face: now eate and dronke
enough he hath: at laste
Tys best him selfe shoulde know his ylls.
ye seruaunts all, in haste
Undoe the temple doores: and let
the house be open all:
Fayne wolde I see, when looke uppon
his childrens heds he shall
What countenance he then wolde make.
or in what woordés breake out
Wolde fyrst his greefe, or how wolde quake
his bodie rounde about.
With spright amased sore: of all
my woorke the fruite were this.
I wolde him not a myser see,
but whyle so made he is.
Beholde the temple opened now,
dothe shyne with many a lyght:
In glytiryng gold and purple seate
he sytts him selfe upryght,
And staiyng up his heauy head
with wine, upon his hande,
He belcheth out. now cheefe of godds,
in highest place I stande,
And kyng of kyngs: I have my wyshe
and more then I coulde thynke:
He fylled is. he nowe the wyne
in syluer boll dothe drynke.

/ [Diiiiv]

/ [Dv]

And spare it not, there yet remaynes,
a woorser draught for thee
That sproong out of the bodyes late
of sacrifyces three,
Whiche wyne shall hyde: let therwithall
the boordes be taken up.
The father (myngled with the wyne)
his childrens blood shall sup,
That woulde haue droonke of myne.
beholde, he now begyns to strayne
His voyce and syngs, nor yet for ioye
his mynde he may refrayne.

The seconde Sceane.

Thyestes alone

O beaten bosomes dullde so longe with woe,
laie downe your cares, at length your greues relent:
Let sorowe passe, and all your dreade let goe,
and fellowe eke of fearefull banyshment,
Sad pouertie and yll in myserye
the shame of cares. more whense thy fall thou haste,
Then whether skylls. greate happe to him, from hye
that falles, it is in suretee to be plaste / [Dvv.]
Beneth, and great it is to him agayne
that prest with storme, of euylls feeles the smart,
Of kyngdome loste the payses to sustayne
with necke unbowde: nor yet deiect of harte
Nor ouercome, his heavy happs alwayes
to beare upryght. but now of carefull carkes
Shake of the showres, and of thy wretched dayes
awaye with all the myserable markes.
To ioyfull state returne thy cheerefull face.
put fro thy mynde the olde Thyestes hence.
It is the woont of wight in wofull case,
in state of ioy to haue no confydence.
Though better happs to them returned be,
thafflicted yet to ioy it yrketh sore.
Why calste thou me abacke, and hyndrest me
this happie daie to celebrate? wherfore
Bydst thou me (sorowe) weepe without a cause?
who doth me let with flowers so freshe and gaye
To decke my heares? it letts, and me withdrawes.

downe from my head the roses fall awaye:
My moysted heare with oyntment ouer all,
with sodeyne mase stands up in woondrows wyse.
From face that wolde not weepe the streames do fall,
and howlyng cryes amyd my woordes aryse.
My sorowe yet thaccustomde teares dothe loue.
and wretches styll delight to weepe and crye.
Unpleasant playntes it pleaseth them to moue:
and florysht faire it lykes with Tyrian dye / [Dvi]
Theyr robes to rent: to wayle it lykes them styll.
for sorowe, sends (in sygne that woes drawe nye)
The minde, that wotts before of after yll.
the sturdye stormes the shipmen ouerlye,
When voyde of wynde thasswaged seas doe rest.
what tumult yet or countenaunce to see
Makste thou mad man? at lengthe a trustfull brest
to brother geeue, what euer now it bee,
Causeles, or ells to late thou arte a dred.
I wretche woulde not so feare, but yet me drawes
A tremblynge terrour: downe myne eyes do shed
theyr sodeyne teares, and yet I know no cawse.
Is it a greefe, or feare? or ells hath teares
great ioy it selfe?

The thyrde Sceane.

Atreus. Thyestes.

[Atr.] Let us this daie with one consent
(o brother) celebrate.
This day my sceptors may confyrme
and stablyshe my estate,
And faythfull bonde of peace and loue
betwene us ratyfye.

Thy. Enough with meate and eke with wyne,
now satysfyde am I. / [Dviv.]
But yet of all my ioyes it were
a greate encrease to mee,
If now about my syde I might
my little children see.

Atr. Beleue that here euen in thyne armes
thy children present bee.

For here they are, and shalbe here,
no parte of them fro thee.
Shall be withholde: theyr loued lookes
now geue to the I wyll,
And with the heape of all his babes,
the father fully fyll.
Thou shalt be glutted, feare thou not:
they with my boyes as yet
The ioyful sacrifyces make
at boorde where children sit.
They shalbe callde: the frendly cuppe
nowe take of curtesy
With wyne upfylde.

Thy. of brothers feast
I take full wyllyngly
The fynall gyfte, shed some to gods
of this our fathers lande,
Then let the rest be droonke. whats this?
in no wyse wyll my hande
Obeye: the payse increaseth sore,
and downe myne arme dothe swaye.
And from my lypps the wastyng wyne
it selfe dothe flie awaie,
And in deceived mouthe, about
my iawes it runneth rounde:
The table to, it selfe dothe shake,
and leape from tremblyng grounde.
Scant burnes the fyre: the ayre it selfe
with heauy chere to sight
Forsooke of sunne amased is
betwene the daye and night.
What meaneth this? yet more and more
of backewarde beaten skye
The compasse falles: and thicker myst
the worlde doth ouerlye
Then blackest darkenes, and the night
in night it selfe dothe hyde.
All starrs be fledde: what so it bee,
my brother god prouyde
And soons to spare: the gods so graunte
that all this tempest fall
On this vyle head. but now restore
to me my children all.

Atr. I will, and neuer daye agayne
shall them from the withdrawe.

Thy. What tumulte tumbleth so my gutts,

1610 1615 1620 1625 1630 / [Dvii] 1635 1640 1645 1650

and dothe my bowells gnawe?
What quakes within? with heavy payse
I feele my selfe opprest,
And with an other voyce then myne
bewayles my dolefull brest. / [Dviiv]
Come neere my soons, for you now dooth
th'unhappie father call:
Come neere, for you once seene, this greefe
wolde soone asswage and fall.
Whence murmure they?

At. with fathers armes
embrace them quickely nowe,
For here they are loe come to thee:
dooste thou thy children knowe?

Thy. I know my brother: suche a gylt
yet canst thou suffre well
O earth to beare? nor yet from hens
to Stygian lake of hell
Dooste thou bothe drowne thy selfe and us?
nor yet with broken grounde
Dooste thou these kyngdomes and theyr kyng
with Chaos rude confounde?
Nor yet uprentyng from the soyle
the bowres of wicked lande
Dooste thou Mycenas ouerturne?
with Tantalus to stande,
And auncyters of ours, if there
in hell be any one,
Now ought we bothe. now from the frames
on eyther syde anone
Of grounde, all here and there rent up,
out of thy bosome deepe
Thy dens and dungeons set abrode,
and us enclosed keepe, / [Dviii]
In botome lowe of Acheront:
aboue our hedds alofte
Let wander all the gyltie ghosts,
with burnyng frete full ofte
Let fyry Phlegethon that dryues
his sands bothe to and froe,
To our confusion ouerroon,
and vyolently floe.
O slouthfull soyle unshaken payse,
unmoued yet arte thou?
The gods are fled.

Atr. but take to thee

with ioy thy chyldren now,
And rather them embrace: at length
thy chyldren all, of thee
So long wysht for, (for no delaye
there standeth now in mee,)
Enioye and kysse, embracyng armes
deuyde thou unto three.

Thy. Is this thy league? may this thy loue
and fayth of brother bee?
And dooste thou so repose thy hate?
the father dothe not craue
His soons alive (whiche might haue bene
without the gylt,) to haue:
And eke without thy hate, but this
dothe brother brother pray:
That them he may entoombe, restore,
whom see thou shalt straight way / [Dviiiv]
Be burnt: the father nought requyres,
of the that haue he shall,
But soone forgoe.

Atr. what euer parte
yet of thy children all
Remaynes, here shalt thou haue: and what
remayneth not, thou haste.

Thy. Lye they in feeldes, a foode out floong
for fleeyng foules to waste?
Or are they kept a praye, for wylde
and brutyshe beasts to eate?

Atr. Thou hast deuourde thy soons, and fylde
thy selfe with wicked meate.

Thy. Oh this is it that shamde the godds:
and day from hens dyd dryue
Turnde backe to easte. alas I wretch
what waylynges may I gyue?
Or what complayntes? what wofull woordes
may be enough for mee?
Theyr heades cutte of, and hands of torne,
I from their bodies see,
And wrenched feete from broken thyghes,
I here beholde agayne.
Tys this that greedy father coulde
not suffre to sustayne.
In belly rolle my bowels rounde,
and closed cryme so gret

Without a passage stryues within,
and seekes awaye to get. / [E]
Thy swoorde (o brother) lende to me:
muche of my blood alas
It hathe: let us therwith make way
for all my soons to pas.
Is yet the swoorde fro me withholde?
thy selfe thy bosomes teare.
And let thy brests resounde with strokes:
yet wretche thy hand forbeare,
And spare the deade. who euer sawe
suche mischiefe put in proofe?
What rude Heniochus, that dwells
by ragged coaste aloofe,
Of Caucasus unapt for men?
or feare to Athens, who
Procustes wylde? the father I
oppresse my children do
And am opprest, is any meane
of gylt or mischiefe yet?

Atr. A meane in myschiefe ought to be,
when gylt thou dooste commyt,
Not when thou quytst: for yet even this,
to lytle seemes to me.
The blood yet warme euen from the wounde
I shoulde in sight of thee
Even in thy iawes have shed, that thou
the bloud of them mightst drynke
That lyued yet: but whyle to muche
to haste my hate I thynke, / [Ev]
My wrathe beguyled is. my selfe
with swoorde the woundes them gaue,
I strake them downe, the sacred fyres
with slaughter vowde I haue
Well pleasde, the carcase cuttyng then
and lyueles lymms on grounde
I haue in little parcelles chopt,
and some of them I drownde
In boylyng cawdems, some to fyres
that burnte full slowe I putte,
And made to droppe: their synewes all
and lymms atoo I cutte
Euen yet alyue, and on the spytte
that thrust was through the same
I harde the lyuer wayle and crie,
and with my hand the flame
I ofte kept in: but euery whit
the father might of this

Haue better doone, but now my wrathe
to lyghtly ended is.
He rent his soons with wycked gumme,
him selfe yet wotyng nought,
Nor they therof.

Thy. o ye, encloasde
with bendyng banks abought
All seas me heare, and to this gylt
ye godds now harken well
What euer place ye fledde are to:
heare all ye sprights of hell, / [Eii]
And here ye lands, and night so darke,
that them dooste ouerlye
With clowde so blacke, to my complaynts
do thou thy selfe applye.
To thee now lefte I am, thou dooste
alone me myser see,
And thou arte lefte without thy starres:
I wyll not make for mee
Peticions yet. nor ought for me
requyre, may ought yet bee
That me shoulde vayle? for you shall all
my wyshes now foresee.
Thou guyder great of skies aboue,
and prynce of hyghest myght,
Of heauenly place, now all with cloudes
full horrible to syght,
Enwrappe the worlde, and let the wyndes
on euery syde breake out,
And sende the dredfull thunder clappe,
through all the worlde about.
Not with what hand thou gyltles house
and undeserued wall
With lesser bolte arte wonte to beate,
but with the whiche did fall
The three upheaped mountaynes once,
and whiche to hylls in height
Stoode equall up, the gyants huge:
throwe out suche weapons streight, / [Eiiv.]
And flyng thy fyres, and therwithall
reuenge the drowned daye.
Let flee thy flames, the lyght thus lost
and hyd from heauen awaye,
With flashes fyll: the cause, (least long
thou shouldst doute whom to hit,)
Of eche of us is yll: if not
at least let myne be it,
Mee stryke: with tryple edged toole

thy brande of flamyng fyre
Beate through this brest: if father I
my children do desyre
To lay in tombe, or corpses cast
to fyre as dothe behoue,
I must be burnt: if nothyng now
the gods to wrath maie moue,
Nor powre from skyes with thunder bolte
none strykes the wycked men,
Let yet eternall night remayne,
and hyde with darkenes then
The worlde about: I (Titan) nought
complayne, as now it stands,
If still thou hyde thee thus awaye.

Atr. now prayse I well my handes,
Now gotte I haue the palme: I had
bene ouercome of thee,
Except thou sorowdst so: but now
euen children borne to me
I counte, and now of brydebed chaste
the fayth I do repeare.

Thy. In what offended haue my soons?

Atr. In that, that thyne they weare.

Thy. Setst thou the soons for fathers foode?

Atr. I doe, and (whiche is best)
The certayne soons?

Thy. the gods that guyde
all infantes, I protest.

Atr. what wedlocke gods?

Th. who wolde the gylt
with gylt so quyght agayne?

Atr. I knowe thy greefe preuented now
with wrong, thou dooste complayne:
Nor this thee yrkes, that fedde thou arte
with foode of cursed kynde,
But that thou hadst not it preparde:
for so it was thy mynde,
Suche meates as these to sette before
thy brother wotyng naught,
And by the mothers helpe, to haue

lykewyse my children caught,
And them with suche lyke deathe to slaye:
this one thing letted thee,
Thou thoughtst them thyne.

Thy. the gods shall all
of this reuengers bee:
And unto them for vengeance due,
my vowes thee render shall.

Atr. But vext to be I thee the whyle,
geeue to thy children all. / [Eiiiv]

The fourth Sceane, Added to the Tragedy by the Translatour.

Thyestes alone.

O Kyng of Dytis dungeon darke,
and grysly ghosts of hell,
That in the deepe and dredfull denns,
of blackest Tartare dwell,
Where leane and pale diseases lye
where feare and famyne are,
Where discorde stands with bleedyng browes,
where euery kynde of care,
Where furies fight in bedds of steele,
and heares of crallyng snakes,
Where Gorgon grymme, where Harpies are,
and lothsome Lymbo lakes,
Where most prodigious uglye thynges,
the hollowe hell dothe hyde,
If yet a monster more mysshapte
then all that there doe byde,
That makes his broode his cursed foode,
ye all abhorre to see,
Nor yet the deepe Iuerne it selfe,
may byde to couer me, / [Eiiii]
Nor grysly gates of Plutoes place,
yet dare them selues to spredde,
Nor gapyng grounde to swallowe him,
whome godds and day haue fledde:

Yet breake ye out from cursed seates,
and here remayne with me,
Ye neede not now to be affrayde,
the ayre and heauen to se.
Nor tryple headid Cerberus,
thou needst not be affright,
The day unknowne to thee to see,
or els the lothsome light.
They bothe be fledde: and now dothe dwell
none other countnaunce heere,
Then dothe beneathe the fowlest face,
of hatefull hell appeere.
Come see a meetest matche for thee,
a more then monstrous wombe,
That is of his unhappie broode,
become a cursed tombe.
Flocke here ye fowlest feendes of hell,
and thou O grandsier greate,
Come see the glutted gutts of mine,
with suche a kynde of meate,
As thou didst once for godds prepare.
let torments all of hell
Now fall uppon this hatefull hed,
that hathe deserude them well.
Ye all be plagued wrongfully,
your gylts be small, in sight
Of myne, and meete it were your pangs
on me alone should light.
Now thou O grandsier giltles arte,
and meeter were for me,
With fleeyng floud to be beguilde,
and frute of fickle tree.
Thou slewst thy son, but I my sons,
alas haue made my meate.
I coulde thy famyne better beare,
my panche is now repleate
With foode: and with my children three,
my belly is extent.
O filthy fowles and gnawyng gripes,
that Tityus bosome rent
Beholde a fitter pray for you,
to fill your selues uppone
Then are the growyng gutts of him:
foure wombes enwrapt in one.
This panche at ones shall fill you all:
yf ye abhorre the foode,
Nor may your selues abide to bathe,
in suche a cursed bloode:
Yet lend to me your clinchyng clawes,

/ [Eiiiiv.]

your pray a while forbeare,
And with your tallons suffer me,
this monstrous mawe to teare. / [Ev]
Or whirlyng wheeles, with swynge of whiche
Ixion still is rolde,
Your hookes uppon this glutted gorge,
woulde catche a surer holde.
Thou filthy floud of Lymbo lake,
and Stygian poole so dyre,
From choaked chanell belche abrode.
thou ferfull freate of fyre,
Spue out thy flames O Phlegethon:
and ouer shed the grounde.
With vomite of thy fyrye streame,
let me and earth be drownde.
Breake up thou soyle from botome deepe,
and geue thou roome to hell,
That night, where day, that ghosts, were gods
were woont to raigne, may dwell.
Why gapste thou not? Why do you not
O gates of hell unfolde?
Why do ye thus thynfemall feendes,
so long from hens withholde?
Are you likewyse affrayde to see, and
knowe so wretched wight,
From whome the godds haue wryde theyr lookes,
and turned are to flight?
O hatefull hed, whom heauen and hell,
haue shoonde and lefte alone,
The Sun, the Starrs, the light, the day,
the Godds, the ghosts be gone. / [Evv.]
Yet turne agayne ye Skyes a whyle,
ere quight ye goe fro me,
Take vengeance fyrst on him, whose faulte
enforceth you to flee.
If needes ye must your flight prepare,
and may no lenger byde,
But rolle ye must with you foorthwith,
the Goddes and Sun a syde,
Yet slowly flee: that I at lengthe,
may you yet ouertake,
While wandryng wayes I after you,
and speedy iorney make.
By seas, by lands, by woods, by rocks,
in darke I wander shall:
And on your wrathe, for right rewarde
to due deserts, wyll call.
ye scape not fro me so ye Godds,
still after you I goe,

And vengeance aske on wicked wight,
your thunder bolte to throe.

FINIS. / [Evi]

THYESTES

A Tragedy,

Translated out of

SENECA:

To which is Added

MOCK-THYESTES;

IN

BURLESQUE

By J.W. Gent.

Miscentur seria Ludis.

Printed by *T.R.* and *N.T.* for *Allen Banks* at
St. Peter's Head in *White-Fryars*, 1674.

TO THE
Right Honourable
Bennet LORD *Sherard*

MY LORD,

A Part of Old Seneca *presents it self by my Hand to your Lordships Patronage. I should justly blush at such a mean Return to your Lordships many Favours, had I not read how the* Spanish *Monarch, who Commands the* Indies, *accepts' the* Biscains *Homage in the worthless Present of a few* Maravidis, *nor is the Gift ungrateful to him, since it speaks Subjection: In like manner my Lord, my only Ambition in this Dedication is to appear your Servant. I know your Lordships Goodness will pardon my Confident Address: 'Tis that Ob-leiging Nature, so radicated in the* Sherards, *that Commands the hearts of all men: 'Tis that which makes your Country truly Yours. And thus my* Lord, *you serve his Majesty both with your own and their Affections. Such is your generous* English *way of true endearment. But I must despair to speak your full worth in the narrow limits of a few Pages; Should I attempt to blazon your just value, it would extend this small Epistle to a Volume, and swell this little Volume to a Folio. The following Papers I submit to your free Censure; And if they prove so happy to attain any Degree in your Lordships favour, I shall despise the malice of all our little Critiques, who never exposing any thing of their own, (and so in no danger of Retaliation) make it their business to pique at every thing is pub-lisht. But how e're this* Book *Succeeds, the Authors chief happiness is above their preju-dice, which is, to be*

My Lord,
Your Lordships most Humble, and
most Obedient Servant,

John Wright.

/ [A2]

/ [A2v]

ADVERTISEMENT.

Whether Seneca the Philosopher (*to whose Pen some abscribe* Three other Tragedy's) *was the Original* Author *of this also, or some other* Seneca, *I know not: nor is it material; since* Hensius *esteems it* Nulli caeterarum inferior. *Let it suffice that the* Author, *in many places, appears much a* Stoick, *and such was the* Philosopher. *The following Translation was Writ many Years since, though Corrected, and rendred into something a more Fashionable Garb then its first Dress, at the* Intervals *of a more profitable* Study *last long* Vacation. *And to a few such Idle Hours must I attribute the ensuing* Farce, *which way of* Pass-time *was much more agreeable to my Humor, then the continual Glut of Ale and Tobacco, the ordinary Entertainment of* vacant *time in the Country. I confess it is not now very Modish to* Translate *any thing of this Nature from the* Latine, *when there are so many* French Play's *to be had, and those so well Accepted. Our* Modern Dramatiques *present us with greater* Idae-a's *both of Vice and Vertue: Yet* Ben: Johnson *thought a considerable part of* Seneca's Thyestes *not improper for the* English Stage *in his time, when he took most of* Sylla's Ghost *from hence, and so well approved of this way of* Introduction, *that he served himself of it not only in his* Tragedy *of* Cateline, *but also in his* Devill's an Ass, *a* Comedy, *where he makes a* Pug *his* Home d'Intrigue *I know also how much the* Atreus *and* Thyestes *of* Seneca *hath been out-done by our own* Fletchers, Rollo, *and* Otto: *Yet I am confident the Comparison will not be ungrateful to them that perceive, in many particulars the* Drama *of this Age to excell that of* Se-

/ [A3]

/ [A3v]

neca, *as much as his was Improved from the time when* Thespis, *who first offer'd at* Tragedy *lead his Originall of Actors about the Country in a Cart, which served them both for a Conveyance and a Stage. So homely are all Foundations, though of the fairest Building. Marginal Notes Explanatory of the Poetique Fictions, I have purposely omitted, as Impertinent, knowing that most of those who use this sort of Reading do either sufficiently understand, or despise those little Misteries of Obsolete Poetry. For those other few who still relish such* Chapon Bovilli, *I only commend 'em to the next Dictionary; and that will give 'em ample Satisfaction. For a like Reason, I forbear to Pall the Story with the thing call'd an Argument, the No-Plot of these old* Tragedy's *being sufficiently Intelligible, and so little needing a* Clue, *that rather there wants more* Labyrinth.

/ [A4]

/ [A4v]

To my Worthy Friend, Mr. Jo. Wright, on his Translation of Thiestes, with the Travestie.

Did *Seneca* now live, himself would say
That your Translation has not wrong'd his *Play*;
But that in every Page, in every Line,
Your Language do's with equal splendor shine,
His *Roman* Habit, and your *English* Dress,
Themselves with a like Elegance express / [A5]
Nor from your praise will it at all detract
To say the *Tragedy's* unfit to Act.
And that those *Playes* can never please the Age,
That hope for no Acquaintance with the Stage:
For to all those that judges are of Wit,
Fancy it self a *Theatre* will fit.
Each Scene expose to that Interior Eye;
And all the want of Actors too supply.
She can without expence Treasure raise
New Structures still to fit our several Playes,
For which but at the charges of a thought,
Nature's and Arts embellishments are bought
Her Scenes, tho' they exist but in the mind,
Are ever fram'd to what the Play design'd.
Nor is she forc'd by Scarcity to make
A trifling Buffoon the *Regalia* take:
Constraining none whom Nature has design'd,
Only to Ape a Fool, against his kind, / [A5v]
To mannage Scepters; left he should appear
With his ridiculous *Grimaces* where
Those loose Impertinences have no share.
Thus every Requisite is fitted so
That no dislike can from the Action grow:
And her *Ideal Theater* appears
With all the Lustre that attends on theirs.
Pleasant *Scarron*, whose *Mock-Aeneas* made
Virgil himself smile at the *Masquerade*;
Too much beyond his power, did justly fear
Would *prove* the Works of our *Tragdian* here.
But what he fear'd may now your Glory prove
Whose *Quill* runs free where his durst never move:
And like the Sword that cur'd the wounds it gave,
Makes us such pleasure, so much laughter have, / [A6]
After the *Passions* had made us share!
That 'tis but Reason to maintain you are
Favour'd in *Verse* with *Ovid's* happy *Muse*,
Whose Wit did with Success all *Subjects* use.

O: Salusbury. / [A6v]

Dramatis Personae,

Tantalus's Ghost.

Megaera.

Atreus, King of *Argos.*

Thyestes, his Brother.

Plisthenes, his Son.

Two other Sons of *Thyestes, Mutes*.

A Servant, Attendant to *Atreus*.

Nuntius.

Chorus of *Argives*.

The Scene.

ARGOS:

PROLOGUE
To the Reader.

Wits, and Wit-Triers, who some Criticks *Name*
Writers of Play's, *and Dammers of the same,*
Advance not farther then this Page; *beware,*
Since all that follows is Irregular.
For though this thing a Tragedy is *stil'd,*
'Tis free from Plot *as any Sucking Child.*
Nor Love, nor Honour here the Author show'd:
Nay, what is worse, no Bawd'ry A-la-mode.
No Amorous Song nor a more Amorous Jigg
Where Misses *Coats twirl like a Whirlegig*
And such who next the Lamps themselves dispose,
Think thus to recompence the stink of those,
While she that Dances jilts the very eyes,
Allowing only these Discoveri's
A neat silk Leg and pair of Holland Thighs.
Methinks I see some mighty Wit o'th Town
At this Express a most judicious frown,
And huff it thus (cocking his Caudubec)
S---What a Devil then must we expect?
Have patience, and I'le tell You what you shall
Meet here that's still in use Dramaticall.
High Lines, and Rime enough Sirs Ye shall have,
And Sentences most desperately Grave,
Dull Sence, and sometimes Huffs that Nature brave.
And ('cause we cannot easily print a Dance)
A Farce i'th end out, A-la-mode-de -France.

/ [A7v]

THYESTES.

A Tragedy,
Translated out of
SENECA.

ACT. I.

TANTALUS. MEGAERA.

[*Tan.*] Which of th'Infernal Powers doth thus compel
The wretched *Tantalus* to leave his Hell?
And, as a higher Damnation, shew again
That World where Bodies yet alive remain?
Is ought found worse than thirsty to abide
In Streams, and Hunger never satisfy'd?
Must I have *Sisyphus* his Stone, or feel
The giddy Torments of *Ixions* VVheel? / [1]
Or shall to me *Tytius's* pains succeed,
On whose Immortal Liver Vultures feed:
For night repairing what was lost by day,
He a fresh Monster dies, and perfect Prey.
What Plague comes next? O thou who dost on those
That suffer'd have the Old, New Pains impose,
Remorseless Judg of Souls who er'e you be,
Add if thou canst, add to my misery.
Invent such horrid Torments that shall make
Hells Porter fear, and the dark Regions quake.
Nay more my self affright. Springing from me
Doth now arise a Monstrous Progeny.
Me their Progenitor they shall out-act
In wickedness, and guiltless make my fact / [2]
With Crimes unknown, and truly theirs. Each place
That's void in Hell, I'le furnish with my Race.
While our House stands, *Minos* shall have no need
Of other Clyents. -

Meg. Cursed Shade, proceed.
Their hated Bosoms with new fury fill.
And make them strive which shall surpass in Ill.
Let an alternate Rage their Souls inflame:
Such a blind Rage that knows nor Mean nor shame.
Let the first Root of wickedness in Thee
Grow to perfection in thy Progeny.
Nor let their Souls find leisure to repent
A past offence; but still new Crimes invent:
Doubling their Guilt under their Punishment. / [3]

Unsetled be their Throne, and short their Reign:
While giddy fortune gives them Crowns in vain.
Let her the Banish't raise to Soveraign place.
And Kings to the same Banishment debase.
With constant trouble let their Kingdom burn.
And when the guilty Exiles shall return,
Let them afresh to their old mischiefs fall,
As hateful to themselves, as unto All.
Let Rage think nought unlawful to be done.
Let Brother, Brother fear; Mother the Son,
And Son the Mothers wrath. Let Children dye
By wicked hands, others more wickedly
Be born. Let Wife her Husband kill. And may
They or'e the Seas their Enmity convey. / [4]
Let effus'd bloud this and all Lands disdain.
Let conquering Lust over great Captains Reign
In their abhorred Courts. Let whoredom be
Counted no crime. Let hence Right, Amity,
And all accord of the same bloud be gone.
And may their crimes reach Heaven; for when the Sun
Smiles on the world with an unclouded Ray
Let horrid Night ecclips the face of Day.
Fright hence their Houshold-Gods weak Ayd; and fill
Their Place with Hate, death, murder, every Ill.
Be all this house with Garlands now array'd
And genial fires, to speak thy welcome, made.
Then let the Inhumanity of *Thrace*
Out-acted be on this more guilty Place. / [5]
Doth yet the Uncle Innocent remain?
Nor Father yet lament his Children slain?
When shall their Limbs be from the Kitchin serv'd
Up to the Table, and in slices carv'd?
Let th' Uncles hearths blush with his Nephews bloud:
Whiles feasts are made; Feasts furnisht with such food
As is no Novelty to Thee. Behold
This day is thine, here banquet uncontrould.
Now thy long fasting to the full requite.
Mingled with *Baccus* gift, this day, in sight
Of thee, shall thine own blood be drunk. I now
Such dyet have invented as even thou,
Thou *Tantalus* woulst fly. Already? stay,
Whether thus head-long dost thou force thy way? / [6]

Tan. To the Infernal Lakes, and Streams that slip,
When I would drink, from my deluded Lip:
Back to the cheating Fruit I fly again.
Let me return to my old Place and pain.
Why am I stay'd? If I too happy seem,
Gladly I'le change my banks: And to thy Stream

O *Phlegethon* let me be ever bound,
In waves of fire, while I both burn and dround.
Who er'e thou art, that dost tormented lye
By the decree of severe Destiny:
Who er'e thou art, trembling and terrify'd
Under a ruinous Cave that dost abide,
Or fear'st a falling Mountains ponderous side. / [7]
VVho er'e thou art, whether thou fearest more
The *Fury's* Lash, or hungry Lyons roar:
VVho er'e thou art who dost, half burnt defend
Thy self from flying brands, the Voice attend
Of *Tantalus* returning, credit me
VVho am experienc'd, Love your Misery:-
VVhen shall I fly the hated Light?

Meg. Engage
Thou first this house in discord, and wars Rage:
VVar, so much lov'd of Kings in every Age.
Thus fire their Salvage breasts. -

Tan. Fates angry doom
Ide suffer not inflict: behold I come / [8]
Like a dire-Vapour that has cleft the Ground,
Or a sad Pestilence dispersing round
Infection through th' affrighted world. - Must I
To such black Crimes my Nephews hearts apply?
Great King and Parent of the Deities,
And Ours, although it shames thee, Ours likewise;
My Tongue will not forbear her Office, though
She double Torments for it undergo -
Your hands and Altars with such damn'd Offence
Profane not: here Ile stand, and guard it hence. - / [9]
VVhy fright'st thou me with threatned blows? what makes
Thee menace thus with thy contorted Snakes?
VVhy dost increase my hunger? Oh my heart
Burns with new Thirst: Fire feeds on every part.
I follow thee.

Meg. Seeds of Revenge and hate
Sow in this house. Let this, this be their fate,
That imitating thee their Sire they, now
May thirst each others blood as water thou.
The house thy presence feels; behold, no less
Then the whole Fabrique shakes at thy access. / [10]
'Tis acted to the full. Now sink to Hell
Thy proper Place, and Rivers known too well:
Earth's burthen'd with thy weight. Dost not perceive
The Springs shrink inward, and their Fountains leave
The wind, gainst nature hot, few Clouds doth bear

Trees blasted at thy sight, naked appear,
Their fruit and leaves fall'n off. Two Neighbouring Seas
This *Isthmos* doth divide, seest thou how these
At thy sight ebbing do augment their shore,
And at a new unusual distance Roar.
Lerna shrinks back, *Inachus* in full speed
Sees thee, and stops his Course: nor doth proceed / [11]
Alpheus sacred wave. *Citheron's* head
Is white no more, his snowy *Peruque* fled.
Such Thirst as *Argos* underwent of old
Is fear'd again. The Sun himself, behold,
Doubts to go on and mend the fainting Light,
Or the world bury in perpetual Night.

CHORUS, Of *Argives.*

If any of the Powers Above
Doth still *Achaian Argo's* love,
Pisa's aspiring Turrets, and
The Kingdoms of this neck of Land;
If our Twin-Ports and sever'd Seas
Do any blest Immortal please:
Or tall *Taygetus* whose Snows
Congeal to Ice when *Boreus* blows, / [12]
But thaw again when milder weather
Brings the rich Eastern Traffique hither.
At whose foot clear *Alphaus* flows
Renoun'd for the *Olympick* shows:
Hear us propitious Heaven, and bless
Us from Alternate-wickedness;
Let not the Nephews greater be
Then Grandsire in Impiety:
Nor this succeeding Age invent
Crimes which the former never meant.
May now at length the Progeny
Of thirsty *Tantalus* agree,
As weary'd into Peace again:
Discord hath had too long a Reign.
Guilt nought avails, nor Innocence;
Both alike punisht as Offence. / [13]
Such faith as to his Lord he bare
False* *Myrtilus* found from his Heir,

**Myrtilus Charioteer to Oenomaus* King of *Argos* was by *Pelops* corrupted to betray his Masters Life in a Chariot-

Race. By this means *Pelops* not only won the Race, but his Mistress, whom *Oenomaus* her Father had appointed the fair Prize of such a Conquest: But *Pelops*; now his Son in Law and Successor, allow'd the Treacherous *Myrtilus* no other Reward then to be cast into the Neighbouring Sea, from thence called *Mare Myrtoum.*

Waves gave him death, and to the same
He in Exchange did give his Name.
No story better known then this
To the *Ionian* Sayler is.
Thy Infant-Son met death, while he
Did run to meet a kiss from thee;
Inhumane Parent; *Tantalus,*
Too immaturely falling thus
A Sacrifice; each part of him
Thy hand cut out, and cook'd each Limb; / [14]
To make a cursed Feast of these
For the abhorring Deity's.
Hunger they gave for this Repast,
And thirst that shall for ever last:
Nor could a fitter Pain have been
For the Offender or the Sin.
Deluded *Tantalus* remains
Still vext with Hungers innate Pains;
Rich laden boughs hang neer his sight,
Swifter then Birds of strongest flight;
These stoop to meet his Lips, but then
Mock his stretch't Jaws, and rise again.
Often abus'd with this deceit,
He now neglects the tempting Cheat:
And though impatient of delay,
Turns his sad eye another way,
And shuts his empty mouth again
Confining there fierce hungers pain. / [15]
Her Wealth the Tree then lower bends,
And the insulting Fruit descends,
At this his Appetite revives;
But when once more he vainly strives
To reach the boughs, once more they rise,
And all the Autumn upward fly's.
Now Thirst, great as his hunger is,
Succeeds; when his Veins burn with this
He Courts the passing VVaves while they
Are by their Current forc'd away.
Their empty Channel these forsake,
And him that strives to overtake:
VVho snatching at the flying Floud
In greedy hast drinks sand and Mud. / [16]

ACT. II.

Atreus, a Servant.

[*Atr.*] Dull Coward that I am! senceless! (and what
I count in Majesty the greatest Blot)
O unreveng'd! Do I, when Crimes so great .
Are by a Brother acted, such Deceit,
Such breach of Justice, poorly thus in vain
My Anger speak? and nothing but complain?
All *Argos* now in Arms should own my side,
And my proud Navy on these Twin-Seas Ride.
Country and Town should with my fireings shine,
And brighter then those flames this sword of mine. / [17]
Then let this Land groan with our Cavalry.
Let not our Foe in the Woods sculking lye,
Nor on the Hills securely sorrify.
Empty be *Argos* wals, in numerous swarms,
VVhile all her People cry to Arms, to Arms.
VVho hides his head, thinking it so to save,
May he for ever hide it in the Grave.
Let Renown'd *Pelops* House upon me fall,
So it my Brothers Ruine prove withall.
Courage my Soul! something thou now must act,
All Ages shall report, none praise the fact:
A Crime that so transendant wicked is,
My Brother shall in Envy wish it his. / [18]
His Vilany is not reveng'd unless
Out done: But what can pass his wickedness?
Doth Exile humble him? did ever he
Embrace a Mean when in Prosperity,
Or rest content when low? I him for one
Not to be tamed, sufficiently have known:
Broke he may be, not bent. Assault him then
Before he thee assaults, or leavy's men;
Kill or be kill'd: this offer'd is alike
To both, but hee's most safe who first shall strike.

Ser. Fear you not, Sir, the Peoples Tongues?

Atr. Not I:
For this I count a Kings chief Royalty,
That his bad Actions, all his Subjects are
By Fear compell'd as well to praise, as bear. / [19]

Ser. Such who by Fear are Loyal made, ev'n those
Forc'd by that fear do first become your Foes;
But if you would true Glory, Sir, attain,
You o're the heart, and not the Tongue must Reign.

Atr. False Glory have the Great, the Vulgar true.
Let'em dislike it, so my Will they do.

Ser. Let Kings Command what's honest, and they must.

Atr. Such Kings who only may command what's just
Rule by precarious Power.

Ser. Yet needs must be
That Throne unsetled, where's nor Piety, / [20]
Nor shame of VVrong, nor care of Right, nor Faith.

Atr. These private Virtues are. A Crown who hath
Should know no Law but his own Royal will.

Ser. Can you be guiltless and a Brother kill.

Atr. What's on a Brother Villany to act,
On him but Justice is. What hellish Fact
Hath he not try'd? what scapes him? he his own
By VVhoredom made my VVife, by Theft my Throne.
By such base frauds he gain'd the Antient Signe
Of Soveraign Power, and vext this house of mine. / [21]
A well-known shy-kept Ram, fam'd *Pelops* Fold
Did, his rich Flocks far richer Leader, hold,
A fleece he not of Wool but Gold doth wear,
Scepters of which our new Kings use to bear;
Who hath this hath the Crown: with it the fate
Of our house goes along inseperate.
Safe fed this sacred Beast in Meads, which high
Fences of stone enclose and fortifie.
This bold attempting Trayter, having made
My Wife a Party, hence that beast convey'd.
From this springs all our mutual strife. Now goes
He through my Kingdoms, and Sedition sowes. / [22]
Where's he not guilty? he corrupted hath
My Wife, ruin'd my house, and broke his faith;
My Issue's doubtful, nothing sure but this,
That my worst Enemy my Brother is.
VVhy stopst thou *Atreus*? on at length begin
Thy brave Revenge: Courage; mind what has been
By *Tantalus* and *Pelops* done; thine Eye
And hand withall unto their Deeds apply.

Then say what course in my Revenge is best?

Ser. Let your just sword, Sir, pierce his guilty breast.

Atr. Mild Kings do only kill; You of the end
Of torment speak, I torment do intend. / [23]
Asued-for favour in my Reign shall be
Bare death esteem'd.

Ser. Moves you no piety?

Atr. Hence thou vain shadow, *Piety*, if thou
VVast ever here? hence, I abjure thee now.
Ye Furies, Hells black Missionaries, let
Me begg your ayd to make my Rage compleat.
Bring here two brands of your Infernal fire;
And in this breast a double hate inspire.

Ser. VVhat frenzie drives you thus to unknown Deeds?

Atr. Such as the common mean of Grief exceeds.
I'de use the worst of Cruelties, but fear
They'd all too slight and innocent appear. / [24]

Ser. The Sword?

At. A trifle.

Ser. Fire?

At. A trifle still.

Ser. VVhat Instrument shall your Revenge fulfill.

Atr. *Thyestes* self.

Ser. And wrath it self has less
Of Plague then him.

Atr. Horror, I must confess,
Invades my trembling Soul: I'me forc'd but know
Not whether yet I'me forc'd, and on must go. -

Here *Tantalus* and *Megaera* are supposed to pass over the Stage.

The Center groans; the Heavens in Thunder speak;
And all my house cracks as the Roof would break: / [25]
The Lares turn their looks; be done, be done
This Crime, whose sight the fearful Gods do shun.

Ser. What, Royal Sir, do you at length design?

Atr. I know not what great Act, beyond the Line
Of humane Custome, more then usual swells
My Soul, and forward my slow hand compells:
What 'tis I know not; something great it is -

[*Pauses a while*]

Thus let it be; my Soul, resolve on this; / [26]
A fit Deed for *Thyestes,* and for me.
Let us both act. - Th'* *Odrysian* house did see

The story of *Tereus* King of *Thrace* See the Metamorphosis, Lib.6.

Inhumane feasts. I grant, the Crime, though high,
Yet hath been done already; something I
Would have as new, as bad. *Progne*! Inspire,
Thou cruel Parent, in my breast the fire
Of thy Revenge. Our cause is Parrallel.
Assist me; and to act my hands compell.
Let the pleas'd Father on his Children feed,
And carve their Limbs. I this, I like indeed.
Tis well; exceeding well. But ith'mean time
Where's he? And I, why so long free from Crime? / [27]
Methinks I see the Tragick Scene; and how
He eats himself no Father, even now.-
Heart! dost thou faint, before thou hast begun
The Generous Act? It must, it shall be done.
On then; since he in his own person shall
Commit the highest Villany of all.

Ser. But by what Wiles can we er'e bring him here,
Whose caution renders him so full of fear?

At. I le bate, then take him, with his own Desires.
He hopes my Crowns; and while he thus aspires
He'd meet a flaming Thunderbolt; for them
The Adriatique Gulf he would contemn;
And pass the Libyck shelves; nay more he will
(Which he esteems of all the greatest Ill) / [28]
For them his Brother see.

Ser. Yet who shall give
The pledg of Peace? or who will he believe?

Atr. Vain hope is credulous. My Sons shall bear
From me this Envoy to their Uncles ear,

And sue in wining terms, that he would leave
His Exile for a Pallace; and receive
A Crown with half my Kingdom. Should he prove
Obdurate like himself; yet this would move
His children; who in these affairs untaught
And tyred with miseries, are easily caught,
And they'l prevail with him. Love of Rule here,
His antient frenzie; grief and trouble there, / [29]
Though ne're so obstinate will conquer him.

Ser. Time now hath made his sorrows light to seem.

Atr. Time doth augment our miseries, not cure:
They'r light to suffer, heavy to endure.

Ser. Yet find some other Messengers for this:
Youth to ill counsell prone and docile is.
They may by him to act 'gainst you be led.
Mischief oft falls on the Contrivers head.

Atr. No other Tutor than Ambition needs,
To teach 'em fraud and such Nefarious, Deeds.
Dost doubt they'l not be wicked made? they be
So born. And what you think dire Cruelty,
Is now, perhaps, by him designed on me. / [30]

Ser. Should your Sons know the Plot, their Childhood may
(Unapt for secrecy) the same betray.

Atr. Silence I've learnt from sorrows not a few.

Ser. Must they be strangers then to what they do?

Atr. Yes: Be they guiltless still. I see no need
To make my Sons my Partners in the Deed.
We our Revenge will act alone- My mind
Thou now dost shrink from what was first design'd:
Spare them, spare him: Let *Agamemnon* be
And *Menelaus* of my Privicie
In this Affair. Of their Original,
Doubtful as yet, the truth thus find I shall. / [31]
If they to act their parts unwilling seem,
And grieve at our Dissention, calling him
Their Uncle; he their Father is. -Well go
They shall: but about what they must not know:
Their dubious face will what's within reveal:
Therefore from them, and all else, this conceal.

Ser. Sir, I conceive this needs not; Faith and fear,

But chiefly Faith will closely keep it here.

CHORUS.

At length the happy time occurs
That reconciles the Successors
Of Royal *Inachus*. What made
Ye thus each others Life invade,
Unkindly equal Brothers, why
Sought ye a Crown in such Impiety?
Greatness ye do not rightly prize;
Nor know in what a Kingdom lyes.
Riches cannot inaugurate
A King, nor *Tyrian* Robes of State,
Nor Diadems, nor Roofs that may
With Golden frets out-shine the day;
He is a King whose mind is free
From every Passions tyranny;
Whom, not th' inconstant Vulgars praise,
Nor impotent Ambition, sways.
Such is the man whose richer breast
Contemns the Treasures of the West;
Tagus bright Sands, he doth despise,
And *Lybia's* wealthy Graneries.
Whose Soul no terror feels when *Jove*
Dischargeth Lightning from above.
Or when the *Adriatique* waves
Swell to the Clouds, and *Eurus* raves,
His great heart shakes or shrinks no more
Then doe the Neighbouring Rocks or shore.
Whose Noble soul, nor sword, nor spear
Can subject to unmanly fear.
He plac'd in a secure Estate,
Looks down on all those sports of Fate,
Grandure and Triumphs, and sees there,
How much below his thoughts they are.
Nor will he murmur at his End,
But meet pale death and call him friend.
None of those Kings can him infest,
The scatter'd *Daca* who molest;
Or who by that Red Sea abide
With Pearls enrich'd and beautifi'd;
Him the *Armenian* cannot harm,
Who so confides in his own Arm,

He slites th' advantage of his hills;
Nor *German*, who when winter chills
Other mens veins, sports on the Ice;
Nor *Seres* clad in silks of price.
His Kingdom is within: No force
He needs to keep his Crown, of Horse;
No need of Swords, or shafts whereby
The *Parthians* Conquer when they fly;
No need of the *Balista's* ayde
The walls with Battery to Invade.
VVho fears not is a King. And he
That will, may have this Royaltie.
While he that loves Ambitions pains,
On the Courts slippery top remains;
Let me sweet Peace enjoy: content
I am to live where none frequent:
There shall I fill my longing breast
VVith the still blessings of soft Rest,
Free from their Knowledg great who are,
Free from the noise of business, there
Ile tast my Life, and thus shall I
Rich in an humble fortune dye.
But heavy doth that death befall
To him, who too much known to all
By fame of his great honours past,
Dyes to himself unknown at last. / [35]

ACT III.

Enter *Thyestes*, *Plisthenes*, and his
Two other Sons.

[*Thy.*] My Countrys long'd for sight I now possess;
The greatest good that can sad Exiles bless,
My Native Soil, and Country gods I see;
(If Gods they are who so neglected me;)
I see the towrs the *Cyclops* work that are,
No Mortal can raise structures half so fair.
Oft with applause have I at that fam'd place
In *Pelops* Royal Chariot won the Race.
Me the whole Town will meet returning home;
Nay *Atreus* too, whose sight I hate, will come. / [37]
Then let me back again to woods obscure,
And with the Beasts a life like theirs endure.

A Crowns false splendor shall not me enflame:
Mind not the Gift, but him that gives the same.
Chearful I was when in a low Estate:
Now I from Exile am recall'd, and Fate
Doth smile, I'me sad. Something within doth cry,
Turn back again: I move unwillingly.

Plisthenes (aside.)

VVhat means my Father thus his pace to slack?
He seems much unresolv'd, and oft looks back. / [38]

Thy. Why do I waver thus? why do I strain
My wits, and dwell on that which is so plain?
Shall I Two such uncertain things as are
My Brother, and a Kingdom trust? and fear
Those Ills which time doth now familiar make?
And my commodious sufferings forsake?
My former Life, though wretched, pleaseth me:
Then let me back retire, while yet I'me free.

Plist. Dear Sir, why turn you from your Countrys sight?
And why such Royal Presents do you slight?
Your Brothers wrath is ended, he to you
Offers a Peace, and half his Kingdom too. / [39]
You to your self he will restore.

Thy. A kind
Of strange and unknown Terror chills my mind.
No cause I have, yet fear. I much desire
Forward to go, yet forc'd am to retire.
So have I seen a raging storm prevail
Against a ship, spight of her Oar and Sail.

Plist. Contemn such idle fears, think how at your
Courted Return you'l have a Kings Grandure.

Thy. That, having power of my own Life, I've got.

Pl st. Power's the chief thing.

Thy. Nothing if valued not.

Plist. It may descend to us.

Thy. Two cannot sway
One Scepter -

Plist. - Who 'd not happy be that may? / [40]

Thy. Believe me Greatness is an empty Name:
And hard Fate's vainly fear'd. Since first I came
Unto a Throne, till it I left, I ner'e
Was free, but even mine own Guards did fear.
How sweet it is, to live from strife secure,
To feed on Dishes wholsom though but poor!
The humble Cottage knows not villany,
And slender dyet is from Poyson free:
That's drunk in Plate. With good experience I
Approve the low estate above the high. / [41]
*I own no Castles that on hills do stand,
And from that height the neigbouring Towns command:

*Here *Seneca* by a kind of Antecronism, taxeth the *Romans* in his Age, in their Buildings, Feasts, Baths, *&c.* of which particulars see at large, *Seneca's* Epistles 122.

No Ivory frets adorn my roof: and when
I sleep I'me guarded by no Halbert-men;
With no whole fleet I fish: No Rampiers I
Build to prescribe the Sea: Nor banquet by
The Lands Oppression: Nor beyond the Gete
Or *Parthian* have I Lands as rich as great:
I'me not adord stead of neglected *Jove*
Nor doth my Pallace roof support a Grove:
I have no Baths like Seas: nor do I choose
The day for sleep, the night for drinking use. / [42]
Yet in my abject fortune am secure
Without a guard, and fearless being poor;
In it I meet content, and to have this
Without a Kingdom, the best Kingdom is.

Flist. But when the gods to us a Crown commit
We should not slight the Gift-

Thy. -- Nor covet it.

Flist. That you would Reign your Brother doth desire.

Thy. Doth he? that raiseth my suspition higher.

Flist. True Piety from whence she fled doth use
Back to return, and her lost strength renews.

Th. *Atreus* his Brother love? first *Arctos* will
Set in the waves; *Sicilian* Seas be still; / [43]
In the *Ionian* Ocean Corn will grow;
Darkness will shine, before he will do so:
First fire with water, wind with waves, and Life

With death, will enter League, and end their strife.

Plist. What fraud suspect you?

Thy. All. Nor can I see
VVhat not to doubt from such an Enemy.

Plist. How can his Pow'r hurt you?

Thy. Me? I despise
His Rage: Ye only cause my jealousies.

Plist. Fear you deceit when in the Trap? we are
Cautious too late when taken in the snare
Then let us on. -

Thy. -- Witness ye gods to this;
I follow them, I lead 'em not amiss. / [44]

Plist. Fearless let us proceed. Prosper th'event
Kind Heaven, let it be good as is th' Intent.

Enter *Atreus*, Attended.

Atr. At length the Game which I so long have saught, (*aside*)
VVith all his Breed, in my spread Toils is caught.
I have him now; and with him my desire.
Behold *Thyestes* comes, he comes intire.
My or'e-joyd soul will temper scarce admit,
Nor my unbroke fierce Passion know the Bit;
So when the *Umbrian* Lime-hound through the field
Hunts on a Trayl; and in a Leash is held;
VVhilst he perceives the Game far off to be
Silent and stanch on the dead Scent runs he: / [45]
But when the Quarry's nigh, his gesture speaks
The welcome News; stiff doth he draw, and breaks
From his slow Master's hand. Rage never cou'd
Take a Disguize when once her ayme was blood;
Yet mine shall. - Look: do but observe him there
How his wild superfluities of Hair
Hang rudely or'e his sad dejected Eyes:
His Beard too, how undecently it lyes.

[goes to *Thyestes*.

Brother, i've past my Faith: doubt me no more.
Your dearest sight doth my lost joyes restore. / [46]
Bless me with your so coveted Embrace.
Henceforth, all Enmity let us displace

From our abused breasts; and entertain
The Piety of Brothers once again.

Thy. Your Goodness, Sir, is of such force, I can't
Frame an Excuse; but all my fault must grant.
Your Goodness makes me worse appear one who
Have wrong'd a Brother, and a Brother too
So eminent for generous Love as you.

[Kneels.

I who ne're did, do weeping, you implore
And with these hands that never beg'd before
Thus humbly supplicate that you would please
to pardon all; and for my faith take these,
These Infant Hostages: -

Atr. -- Rise from my feet,
And as a Brother my Embraces meet.

[To the Children.

Kiss me sweet Innocents, esteem'd aright
Both a support to Parents, and Delight

[to *Thyestes*.

Off with these Rags, wound not my pittying Eye
VVith the sad object of your Poverty,
And Robes assume like mine. More praise I gain
To give you half, then a sole Monarch Reign;
Therefore take half my Realm. A Crown to find
Speaks Chance, but to bestow the bravest Mind.

Thy. Dear Brother, may the bounteous gods above
Return a blessing great as is your Love.
But my deformed head no Crown will wear;
Nor this unhappy hand a Scepter bear.
A poor *Plebeian* let me still remain.-.

Atr. Not so: this Land may well two Kings contein.

Thy. VVhat's yours I mine esteem. Brother, take all.

Atr. VVho'd slight the favours that from Fortune fall?

Thy. VVho'd not that knows how slippery they are?

Atr. Of so great Glory will ye me debarre?

Thy. Your Glory Sir, you have already won,
But mine remains, which is such Gifts to shun.

Atr. No more Excuse, I beg. Unless you own
Part of the Goverment, I will have none.

Thy. Well, I accept. Henceforth the Name be mine;
But I my self with all the Power thine.

Atr. VVear then your Crown: while I, without delay
Th' intended Sacrifice to Heaven pay.

CHORUS.

Who'ld credit this? *Atreus*, of late
So cruel, and so obstinate,
VVhen he his suppliant Brother spyed,
Conscious of Gilt, stood stupify'd.
Oh Love; what Power can thine excell?
Discord with strangers long may dwell,
But where the Tyes of blood and thee
Conjoyn, short is that Enmity.
Private Affronts, though urg'd too far,
Rais'd a Revenge in Publick war.
While new-rais'd Troops the Country fright,
And Swords impatient for a fight:
Now finding what so long they'd sought,
Look bright and chearful with the thought.
Fraternal Piety takes place,
Forcing the Brothers to embrace,
Which of your Powers, kind Heaven,to cease
Hath caused such war in such a Peace?
VVhen Civil, the worst sort of Foes,
Did all *Mycene* discompose;
The Mother fear'd her Infants Life;
Her armed Husbands loss, the Wife.
The conquering Sword, when first they drew,
Orecome with peacefull Rust they view.
Some dress their Arms: some busy were
The Forts half ruin'd, to repair:
Some had Commission to survey
The Wall, and make up the Decay.
By some the Gates were strongly bar'd;

Others by Night maintain the Guard.
The empty Name of War doth bring
More real terror then the thing.
But now the happy hour appears,
That sheaths the Sword, and cures our fears, / [52]
Now is the Martial Trumpet dumb:
Sweet peace, sweet peace again is come!
So when the *Brutian* Sea doth rise,
By *Corus* driven to the Skys;
When from her Caverns *Scylla* raves,
Cust by the fury of the waves,
And ships, though in their Haven, fear
Dreadfull *Caribdis* even there.
The sweating *Cyclops* when they spy
Waves o're their furnace *Aetna* fly,
Fear angry *Neptune* though their Sire,
VVill quench the never dying fire.
And poor *Laertes* trembling thinks
His little *Ithara* now sinks.
If the winds fall, the Sea appears
Smooth as the standing Pools, or Meers.
The trifling Boat now puts from shore:
Ships that like Islands seem'd, before / [53]
Were not so bold. Why name I these
Frail Barks? the floating *Cyclades*
Islands like ships, for motion thought,
Fear'd in the storm to be or'e wrought.
Yet now that Boat becalm'd, a sail
Puts up to catch the wanton Gale.
They the past storms effects descry,
And see where drounded fishes lye.
Fortunes still alter, none can last:
Yet is the best the soonest past.
The swift vicissitudes of Fate
Can in a moment change our state.
He who doth Crowns dispose, before
Whose Throne all Nations do adore;

Intending by a former Antecromsme, the *Roman* Emperor.

At whose bare Nod the *Medes* disband:
Nor dare the *Indians* him withstand: / [54]
Nor *Daca* with their Cavalrie:
How full of anxious thoughts lives he?
What Changes do his fears, the while,
Presage from Fates inconstant smile?
Then swell no more; Great Souls of those
Where Heaven doth Soveraign Rule dispose:

Since that due Homage which we show
To you, ye to another owe.
The greatest Kings but Subjects be
To a Superior Majesty.
Some with that Sun have set, whose Ray
Shined at his Rise less bright then they.
Ah fading Joyes! In such who dare
Confide, or wanting them, despair?
Clotho with smiles doth Tears commix,
And lets no Chance of Fortune fix. / [55]
Heavens greatest Favorite can't say
I'le live and laugh another Day.
All our Affairs Fate troubles, and
Disorders as whirl-wind sand.

ACT. IV.

Nuncius. Chorus.

[*Nun.*] Some Whirl-wind snatch me hence: by whose fierce ayd
I to th' obscurest Clowd may be convey'd,
VVhence I no more this cursed House may see:
By *Tantalus* himself, abhor'd to be.

Cho . Ha! what means this?-

Nun . - VVhat Country's this I tread?
Argos, and *Sparta* is it, that hath bred / [56]
Such bloudy Brothers? Live *Corinthians* here
Twixt these two Seas, or what I rather fear,
Barbarous *Alani*? No *Hyrcanian* Breed
Of Tygers sure; nor *Scythians* these exceed.

Cho . What Salvage Crime blots our unhappy Land
VVith such a Guilt? Give us to understand.

Nun . Can I my Senses recollect, I will;
VVhen this cold Sweat shall leave my Limbs. For still
The horror follows me. - Come storms as strong
As my Desires, and bear me hence, along
VVhether the Sun flys from this sight away.

Cho. You aggravate our fears by this delay. / [57]
Quickly the Deed relate, and Author too.

Which of the Brothers is't? I ask not who.

Nun. In *Pelops* his chief Palace Southward lyes
A Part, that doth like some tall Mountain rise
To pierce the Clouds, and o're the Town doth stand,
Which should the same Rebell, it can Command:
There stands the Publick Hall, whose Roof of Gold
Rich spotted Marble-pillars do uphold.
Besides this, where the Vulgar do repair,
Sev'ral as rich as spacious Rooms there are.
The Privy Court i' th' uttermost Recess
Doth lye, by a Descent from the no less / [58]
Sacred, then secret Grove divided there
Nor pleasant Trees nor profitable are,
But mournful Yew, Cypress, and Holm; yet higher
Then all the rest the tall Oak doth aspire,
And like a Prince o're looks the common Trees.
Our Kings do here consult their Auguries:
Here they seek Council when affairs appear
Doubtful or bad. Their Votive Guifts hang here:
Trumpets of War, and Trophys of the same,
With what by Land or Sea we overcame;
The vanquisht wheels, and treacherous Axel-Tree,
And all our Nations *Deeds*, here fixed be. / [59]
Here's the *Tiara Phrygian Pelops* wore:
Here's what in War we took, or triumph bore.
Under this shade a Fountain stands, a Wave
So black and sad Dire *Styx* is said to have,
Dire *Styx* that binds the gods. The Fame's well-known
How here th' Infernal gods all Night do groan.
Clinking of Chains, howling of Ghosts, make here
A horrid noise, while what affrights the Ear
May there be seen: there haunt a Company
Of wandring souls which far more dreadfull be
Then common *Spectres*; sudden flames oft dart
Through all the Grove, and fix i' th' highest part. / [60]
Oft hath from thence three Barks at once been heard,
And oft the House with monstrous Visions scar'd.
Nor can the Day expel such fears, for there
Is ever Night, and these at Noon appear.
Oraculous Resolves have here been found
By them that seek, which with a frightfull sound
That fills the Place, arise from underground.
When *Atreus* mad with Rage, was enter'd here,
Dragging his Nephews, deckt the Altars were.
(Who with fit words can such black Deeds relate?)
Their Princely hands behind were pinnion'd streight, / [61]
Their Heads with purple fillets bound: there lyes
Ready both Incense for the Sacrifice,

And Wine, and Knife: ready prepar'd for it
Lies Salt and Meal. No Rite he doth omit,
Least not well done should be such wickedness!

Chorus. Who to their Execution dares address?

Nun. He is the Priest himself: himself doth Pray;
The Versicles of Death himself doth say.
The Victims he in order placeth, and
Standing at th' Altar, takes the Sword in hand;
Himself attends, and doth omit no Rite:
This the Grove sees, and trembles at the sight. / [62]
So doth the Ground, which shakes the House withall,
Whose Turrets doubtful on which side to fall
Nod every way; Also a Comet streams
From Heavens left side, which darts forth dismal beams.
The Wine as soon as cast into the flame,
VVas Transubstantiated, and blood became.
Oft his Crown fell: the Ivory Statues wept.
This all affrights; he still his temper kept;
And stands withall as if he'd terrifie
The threatning gods. - But all delays lay'd by,
He now ascends the Altar, with Oblique
Looks and Malevolent; Some Tyger like / [63]
In *Ganges* Forrest, whom fierce hunger fires,
Between two Steers that stands, and both desires;
Yet unresolv'd which first to seize; her eyes
That threaten Death, to this, then that applys;
With doubt as much as hunger vext; And thus
On the Devoted looks Dire *Atreus*.
Revolving in his mind which should be he
That first must fall; and which should Second be.
It matters not; yet takes he much delight
So high a Villany to Marshal right.

Chor. Which strikes he then?

Nun. -- Parental Piety
Least he should want, first *Tantalus* must dye. / [64]
T' his Grandsire dedicate.

Cho. -- Oh say, how took
The young Prince such a Death, and with what look?

Nun. Careless of Life he stands, and doth refuse
In vain to supplicate, or words to loose.
But *Atreus* by the throat, him having tan'e,
Sheaths in his Breast the sword; which out again
Being redrawn, awhile the body thinks

How best to fall, then on his Uncle sinks.
Next *Plisthenes* he to the Altar brings,
And decollated, on his Brother flings:
Down prostrate falls the Trunk; and (with a sound
Uncertain) the complaining head to th' ground. / [65]

Chor. What after this Twin-death doth he begin?
Spares he the child, or adds he sin to sin?

Nun. As a main'd Lyon equally repleat
With rage and hunger, sees a Heard of Neat
In the *Armenian* woods, pursues and takes
Many, whose blood his frowns more frightful makes:
Bulls do his hunger, not his Rage allay,
And after them he on the Calves doth prey,
With wearied Jaws: nor otherwise then so
Is *Atreus* cruel, such his Rage; who though
His sword's distaind with double slaughter, yet
He seeks another murder to commit,
Careless on whom: In the childs breast he then
Strikes it, which out at s back appears agen. / [66]
He falls, his blood quenches the Altars fires;
Death enters at both wounds, and he at both expires.

Chor. O barbarous act!

Nun. - Doth this your horror breed?
There's more behind, he stops not at this deed.

Cho. Is there in Nature greater cruelty?

Nun. Think you this all; 'tis but the first degree.

Cho. What more? did he to beasts their bodys throw,
And fire deny?

Nun. - Would he had only so!
Their Sepulture, and funeral Pile deny'd,
And cast them out to birds of prey beside, / [67]
Or with their flesh fed Wolves; what does appear
The greatest curse, had been a blessing here;
Their Sire to see them unenterr'd. - O crime
No age will credit! the insuing time
Will think this fabulous! their inward parts
He opens, their veins breathing still, and hearts
Still panting: thence fates to recollect
He the warm veins, & Arterys doth dissect.
The Victims pleasing, now he time can spare
His brothers entertainment to prepare.

He cuts them out in joynts; close to their sides
The shoulders from the body he divides. / [68]
Their tender flesh he from the bones doth pare:
Yet saves intire the heads, and hands which were
So lately sacred pledges. Th' Inwards they
Some spitted 'fore slow fire drip away:
Some in the injured caldron boyl: while these
So horrid meats the very fire displease,
Oft from the hearth it fell, & when return'd
Back to its place, it murmur'd as it burn'd.
The Livers screek upon the spit, nor well
Which most, the flesh or flames, groan'd, can I tell.
The mournful fire in clowds of smoak consumes:
And even those heavy clowds and ominous fumes / [69]
Directly not ascend, as wont, but fly
About the houshold gods, & there they lye.
O patient *Phaebus*! though day backward flys,
And though thy lustre at the Zenith dyes,
Thou set'st too late. - His Sons the Father eats,
And his own Limbs are his Inhumane treats:
While with rich Unguents his hair shines, and he
Sits full of mighty Wine, unwillingly
Discends the barbarous dyet. Only this
Of good, *Thyestes* 'mongst thy Evills is,
You know 'em not: yet even this will fade.
Though *Titan* turns his Chariot, which is made / [70]
To measure back the way it came; though Night
With shades unusual hides this deed from sight,
Which from the East doth rise, and out of time;
Yet will at last be seen each horrid crime,

CHORUS.

Father of gods and men, at whose
Uprise Night doth her beauty loose,
Whether, O whether dost thou stray,
And at thy Noon benight the day?
What frights thee, Sun? not yet appears
Vesper the harbinger of stars:
Nor *Hesper* shining in the west
Bids thy diurnal Chariot rest: / [71]
Nor the third Trumpets sound yet made
A welcome to th' approaching shade.

Amazed the Plowman stands to see
Day end, untired his Team and he.
What stops thy Race? what is't do's make
Thy *Steeds* their beaten Road forsake?
Do now from hell the Gyants rise
Again to fight the Deitys?
His old Attempts doth *Tytius* strive,
With his first fury, to revive?
Hath now *Typhaeus* freed his brest,
Long with the Mountains weight opprest?
Or do the gods *Phlegraean* foes
Ossa on *Pelion* now impose? -
Ah! the known course of time is done!
No more will set or rise the Sun.
Days Mother with Nocturnal Dews
Still wet, while now she *Phaebus* views / [72]
As to her East he back retires,
Whence he so lately went, admires.
How ignorant is she to lave
His steeds in the refreshing wave!
He stands supriz'd too, since to this
New Inne himself a stranger is.
The morning Sun now sets, whose light
Yeilds to a darkness, yet no night;
On his Recess no stars appear:
No fire shines in our Hemisphere.
No Moon adorns these shades. What e're
This is, Night would it only were.
Each heart with suddain fear possest
Doth tremble, tremble in each breast,
Least all should ruin'd be; least men
And even the gods themselves, agen
To their old *Chaos* fall: lest fire
And sea, Earth and Heavens gay attire / [73]
Of sparkling stars, should now return
To their first nothing. - No more burn
Shall thy bright flames, nor *Phaebus*, thou
Be longer chief of Plannets, now,
Summer and winter, nor shall we
Distinguish by the Course of thee.
No more shall the pale Queen of shades
Expel that fear which Night invades,
While she in a less Circle runs,
And ends her Race before the Suns.
Into but one deform'd lump shall
The Elements and Plannets fall.
Heavens Belt the *Zodiac*, whose bright way
Shines with the Lights of night and day,
Whose Circle parts the *Zones*, and we

Measure the Year by its Degree,
Shall fall from Heaven, and with it then
These stars set, ner to rise agen: / [74]
First shall the Ram, who us'd to bring
Soft western Gales with the kind spring,
Plunge in those waves o're which he bore
The trembling *Helle* heretofore.
Next shall the *Bull* descend, between
Whose bright horns are the *Hyads* seen;
And draw the Twins and *Crab* along
With him from the Caelestial throng.
The *Lyon* then shall down again.
Return, and no more scorch the Grain.
Down from her heaven the *Virgin* shall
Along with her the ballance fall:
With them shall the fierce *Scorpion* go,
And he arm'd with th' *Aemonian* bow:
Old *Chiron*, in his fall who will
His Quiver break, and arrows spill.
The winter-leading *Goat* must be
The next, and falling break shall he / [75]
Thy water-pot, who er'e thou art:
With thee the *Fishes* shall depart
Last of the Twelve. The Bears that ner'e
Set in the waves, shall now drownd there.
The Snake that those two Bears divides,
And like a crooked River glides
Shall as all other Rivers, roule
Into the sea. While from the Pole
Cold *Cynosure* the lesser Bear
Plac'd by the greater *Dragon* there,
With whom *Bootes*, slow-pac'd swain
Shall fall, and drive from Heaven his Wain.
Selected from Mankind, do we
This fatal period live to see?
Must the world fall on us? O Fate
Wretched and most unfortunate!
Whether we loose without offence
The *Sun*, or guilty, drive him hence: / [76]
Yet cease to mourn: there is no need.
He's covetous of Life indeed
Who longer to survive desires,
When the whole Universe expires.

ACT. V.

Atreus.

Now equal to the stars I walk, now I
Look down, methinks, on others from the sky.
My Fathers Throne, and Ram, I've now regain'd,
I've done with Heaven: and my last wish attain'd.
Tis very well; exceeding well; and this
Revenge even for me sufficient is. - / [77]
But why sufficient? I'le proceed, and fill
VVith his own blood *Thyestes* fuller still.
Lest I should see, and blush at this black deed
The day retires: VVhile Heaven invites, proceed.
VVould the fled gods might be forc'd back by me,
That they this banquet of Revenge might see!
Yet shall the Father: and let that suffice.
This darkness that now hides his miseries
I will dissolve, though day refuse. Guest mine,
Thou hast too long careless and cheerful lyne
You've eat and drunk enough. *Thyestes* needs
Be sober rightly to resent such deeds: / [78]
VVine drounds his sence. - Ho there within, who waits:
Display the Feast, open the Temple gates.
I long to see, when his Sons heads he views,
How he will look, or what expressions use
To speak his grief; or how (his spirit's lost
At this) hee'l stand as if congeal'd with frost.
This is my deed: To see him wretched, no
Delight take I, but in his making so.

The Scæne opens and
Thyestes *is Discovered*.

Behold the Room with many Lights array'd:
On Gold and Purple he supinely lay'd; / [79]
On his left hand, his head opprest with Wine
He leans, and belches. Now methinks I shine
Chief of the Gods, and King of Kings! In this
I have surpast my wish. - See, see, he is
Already full; from a large Goblet he
Drinks unmixt VVine: Drink on; I've still for thee
One Cup, the blood of the late sacrifice:
The colour of Red wine shall this disguize.
And let this Cup conclude this Feast. He mine
Did thirst, who now shall drink, 'commixt with VVine
His Childrens blood. - Hark; he to sing prepares,
Unable to contain his Joy, light Ayrs. / [80]

Thou that so dull'd with sufferings art,
Cast off thy busy Cares, my heart.
Hence grief, hence fear, and thou er'e while
My old Companion in Exile
Sad Poverty; hence thou that late
Didst vex my soul, of my low state
A conscious shame; of that no more
I le think, but what I was before.
Tis brave when fall'n from high Command,
Firm and unmoved below to stand.
Opprest with mighty Ills, 'tis rare
And brave, with neck unbow'd to bear,
Of a lost Kingdom the sad weight;
Nor conquer'd, nor degenerate, / [81]
But to stand upright under those
Unwelcome pressures Fates impose.
These clouds that now thy soul or'e cast,
And all the marks of misery past
Cast off, and to thy face once more
The smiles of soft content restore:
From thy grieved memory let pass
The old *Thyestes*. But alas!
'Tis proper to th' unfortunate
Never to trust the smiles of fate.
Though happiness return again,
Joy is to them a kind of pain.-
What grief is this obstructs my mirth
From no known cause that takes its birth?
This day of Festival to keep
What hinders me, and bids me weep?
With odorous flowr's my head t' array
What is't doth thus, doth thus gainsay? / [82]
The Roses from my brows descend,
And my perfumed hair stands on end
With suddain horrour; while apace
Sad streams or'e flow a chearful face.
My mirth with groans is often checkt;
And my late tears I still affect:
So fond the wretched ever be
To doat on their old misery.
Mournful complaints fain would I vent,
And tear this purple ornament
Oft-times our souls prophetick be,
And droop with sorrows they fore-see.
So when the Sea to swell doth use,
And no wind breaths, a storm insues. -

Mad man! thy mind why thus dost thou
Disturb, and discompose thy brow?
Thy Brother trust: now what er'e fate
Befalls, fears causeless, or too late.
Thus timerous: I would not be
But a strange terror troubles me
Within, which through my eyes doth pour
A causeless, and suprizing showr'.
Sorrows effect is this or fears?
Or hath great Joy its proper tears?

Atreus (*going to him*)

Brother, with joynt consent let's celebrate
This day, that will confirm my Regal state
And 'twixt us two settle a lasting peace.

Thy. I'me cloyd with wine and feasting; 'twould increase
My pleasure, and no small addition be
To my full Joy, could I my Children see.

Atreus (*ambiguously*.)
Be confident they'r in your armes, for here
They are, and shall be; do not fear.
Nothing of thine shal be withheld: You shall
Their desired presence now enjoy, I all
Of thee with thy so loved Issue will,
Doubt not, most fully satisfie and fill.
At present with my Sons they celebrate
This day of Joy: but I will call 'em straight
First tast our Families cup fi l'd with choice wine.

Thy. Brother, I kindly take this guift 'cause thine.
First offer to our Fathers deities;
And then wee l drink- How's this? my hand denies
Her office: still the wines weight heavier grows,
And loads my arm; while from my Lips it flows:
About my mouth it rouls, nor down will go,
See the ground shakes; the Table too doth so.
The fire it self scarce shines: on the Suns flight,
The Sky stands Neutral betwixt day and night.-
How's this? Heavens Convex sinks still lower and lower:
To darkness joyns a darkness that is more
Condenst, and night it self to this is day.
Each star is fled. What e're this means, I pray
That from my Brother, and my Sons it be
Averted, and the Omen threaten me.
Restore me now my Sons.

Atr. - I will restore,
And they from thee shall ne're be parted more. / [86]

Thy. What tumult shakes me thus within? My breast
Is with a sad impatient weight opprest:
Sad groans I with a voice not mine respire.
Appear my Sons, your most unhappy sire
Bids you appear: your sight alone will cure
This grief. - Whence answer they?

Atr. -- Make ready your

(*Shews the Heads*)

Embraces: they are come, - Now Sir, do ye know
Your Sons?-

Atr. I know my Brother. - Canst thou undergo,
Dull earth, such wickedness, & bear it thus?
And not to *Styx* sink both thy self and us?
Wilt thou not open that these Kingdoms may
And King through thee to *Chaos* find a way? / [87]
Wilt thou not all the structures of this Land
Levell with their foundations? We to stand
Both well deserve in hell with *Tantalus* ,
And other the Progenitors of us,
If any there. Open now, open wide
Thy dislocated Joynts on every side,
Down let us sink through some vast cleft of thee
To *Acheron* , and there for ever be.
While or'e our heads th' Infernal shapes appear,
Flow hither *Phlegethon* , and setling here,
Us wretches in thy flaming waters drownd.
Lyest thou unmoved still, dull senceless ground?

Atr. Here, take thy Sons, so much desired by thee:
Enjoy them now, there's no delay in me: / [88]
Each of these three alike embrace and kiss.

Thy. Is this thy League? thy amity? is this
A Brothers faith? Thus dost thou love? To have
Safe or alive, my Sons, I do not crave:
This I thy brother beg, which no ways your
Revenge impleads, allow them sepulture.
I ask but what I'le burn: 'tis nothing I
Beg to enjoy, but part with by and by.

Atr. All of thy Sons I'le give, that I did save:
What not remains, that you already have.

Thy. Lye they a Feast for Birds of Prey? or are
They for wild beasts reserv'd inhumane fare?

Atr. Thou of thy Sons hast made that impious feast.

Thy. 'Twas this that sham'd the gods! this to the East / [89]
Forc'd back the Sun! wretch that I am what crys,
What sad complaints, what words will me suffice?
Their heads and hands chopt off too plain I see,
And from their Legs how their feet sever'd be.
'Twas the presage of this unheard of meat,
Though pinch'd with hunger, would not let me eat.
My bowels roul about, and seek with pain
A passage for the horrid food, in vain.
Lend me thy sword dyed in my blood, and I
Will to my Sons with it give liberty.
Is this deny'd? yet shall with frequent blows
This breast resound; ah, no! forbear from those
Unhappy man, and spare the dead within-
Hath ever such a curst deed acted been / [90]
By barbarous *Heniochan* that's bred
On *Caucasus*? or the *Cecropian* dred
Procrustes? oh! my Sons do me oppress,
And I my Sons. --- No mean in wickedness?

Atr. A mean should be observ'd when first we act
A wrong, but not when we revenge a fact.
This is but small for me. I should have shed
Goar in thy mouth as from the wound it bled:
That of thy living Sons, the warm blood thou
Mightst drink: I've trifled with my anger now.
In hast I gave the wounds. Of them I made
A sacrifice. I the vow'd slaughter payd
To my wrong'd houshold gods: and jointing all
Their liveless bodies into gobets smal, / [91]
I rent each Limb: and some of them I cast
Into the boiling Cauldron, some I plac't
By a slow fire to rost. They not yet dead
I cut their Nerves, and members quartered:
I heard the Inwards groan upon the spit:
I my self made the fire and lookt to it.
All this their Father better might have done!
My Rage is spent in vain. 'Tis true each Son
Of his, his cursed mouth did tear and eat,
But both the Eater ignorant, and meat.

Thy. Ye Seas with wandring shores incompassed,
Hear this! Here this you gods, whereever fled! / [92]

Hear this hell! Earth hear this! and thou Night made
More black and horrid by a hellish shade,
Attend to what I'le say, and what is said:
Darkness I'me left to thee, and only thou
Sad as my self, canst view my sorrows now:
No suppliant vows for my concern I'le make.
Ah! what is that? Nature 'tis for thy sake.
Great King of Gods, who the Worlds Soveraign art,
Bury the Earth in Clouds from every part
Bid the winds fight, and thou thy Thunder dart.
Use not that hand which lesser bolts doth throw
To batter guiltless buildings here below: . / [93]
But with that hand that levell'd Mountains rear'd
Three stories high, & Gyants that appear'd
Like other Mountains upon them: on us
Discharge thy Lightning and thy thunder thus.
Make good the perish't day. Let thy fires fly:
The light that's lost with lightning now supply.
Doubt not of us whose cause doth call, they be
Both bad: if not, yet mine is; aime at me,
Transfix this breast with thy Artillery.
To their last fire would I my Sons bestow;
My self into those Funeral flames must go.
If nothing moves the Gods, if sinners they
Neglect to punish: Night, for ever stay / [94]
And hide our Crime; *Titan* I'le nere complain
So thy bright flames no more return again.

Atr. Now I applaud my hands? the Palm I've won.
I had lost my glory thus had I not done.
Now my bed chast I think, and Children mine.

Thy. Why should the Infants dye?

Atr. For being thine.

Vhy. With his own Sons dost thou the Father feast?

Atr. Ay, the undoubted Sons, which pleases best.

Thy. Witness ye Gods. -

Atr. - The Nuptial Powers well may.

Thy. With a worse Deed who would a Crime repay? / [95]

Atr. I know what grieves you. To prevented be
You'r vext; not what thou hast devour'd moves thee,
But not t' have drest the same. Thou didst design,

I' Ignorant, such Viands should be mine:
Their Mother helping, thou did'st mean to seise
My Sons, and butcher them as I did these:
You 'd doo't, but that you fancy'd them your own.

Thy. Be present ye just Gods: to them alone
I give thee up for Punishment. -

Atr. --- For it
I to thy Children Manes thee commit.

FINIS.

MOCK.THYESTES.

ACT. I.

TANTALUS. MEGAERA.

Tant. What Witch of *Endor* does thus fret me.
And when I'de stay in hell won't let me?
Cannot a man be damn'd in quiet,
But *Haggs* must thus commit a Riot?
You'l whip me out of Hell- doors we' ye?
And firk me up, with a *Pox* te' ye?
I must to earth: but pray let's know
What I must do there er'e I go.
I cannot teach 'em damning there,
Nor more debauch 'em then they are,
To Wench, drink, rook, or be uncivil,
They scorn to learn of a poor Devill.
'Tis ten to one the *Sons of Whores*
Will either kick me out of doors,
Or think' me a tame harmless *Cully*,
And then I'me gone to *Nicker-Bully*.
But should I take a Wenches shape,
'Tis six to four I get a *Clap*.
And then how shamefully 'twill urge one,
That comes from Hell to use a *Surgeon*?
All that I say I can make good
In mine own proper flesh and blood.
Two *Imps* I have as very *Rakells*
As er'e did cling in *Newgate* shackles:
Men call one *Atreus*, and the other
Thyestes, *Atreus*'s own *Brother.*
Rake *Hell*, and skim the *Devill*, if er'e
You match 'em, I le be hang'd; that's fair. / [98]

Meg. Allons; and stand not thus hum drum:
Or Faith I'le run this Pin i' your bum.
De'e think I'le suffer you, conclude
Whether the thing be bad or good?
Yet if you wonder at your Mission,
And why 'tis with such expedition;
To give your *Nephews* a kind Visit,
If you would know the true cause, is it.
On then, and do just as I tell ye:
First put two live Eels in their belly,
Which may so operate, and frisk it,

As if old *Nick* were in their *Brisket*.
Where Nature's dull, we thus must force her:
(For *Devils* may learn of a *Horse-Courser*)
Then make 'em hector, huff, and swear,
Curse, damn, and sink, spit, fire, and stare; / [99]
Snatch Spits and tilt at one another,
And *Brother* bite off Nose of *Brother*.

Tan. I, say you so? but if you get me
To do't, I'le give you leave to eat me.
Perhaps on earth what you have moved,
Is often done, and well approved;
And to debauch ones own *Relation*
Counted as *Genteil Recreation*
But soft, you ne 're shall get me to it;
An honest *Devil* will not do it.
Do you my *Grandchildren* suppose
Bull-Doggs to run full at the Nose?
Or think you them *Cooks*, grown so sullen
To spit themselves instead of *Pullen*?
In *fine*, I tell you once again,
Tempt me no more, for 'tis in vain.

Meg. Well, since I can't this way prevail,
I le try now to perswade your *Tail*. /[100]
Your *Toby* I'le so feaze with this
Rod that has lain three weeks in piss,
That you shall begg the thing to do,
Before we part, and thank me too.
Come, come, untruss; or must I force ye,
And call *Tysiphone* to horse ye?

Tant. Oh lay that frightfull Engine by,

(*Kneels*.

Dred Queen, for if it shakes I dye.
And I will your Commands obey
Like your most humble- as they say.
But spare my buttocks, let me begg ye;
For they are tender, dearest *Megge*.

Meg. Enough; I pardon: do not doubt it,
But let's shake hands, and so about it.

Tan. Like a dire Vapour, which some call
A *Blast Hypocondriacal*: / [101]
Or like the steem of Candle snuff
I come, but peacably enough;

Then fear not *Mortals*, I will do
No harm, but stink, and so adiew.
Madam, when you confer the Grace
Next, your Command on me to place,
Henceforth I'le do it without grudging:
And like a plain well-meaning *Gudgin*.
What er'e you offer me I'le swallow.
Go on sweet *Lady*, for I follow.

Exeunt.

CHORUS.

If any of the Starry *Powers*
Value one pin, or us, or ours:
If *Jupiter* or *Mars* ere saw
A *Miss* among us worth a straw,
If we have ought that's worth their care
'Twixt wind and water, or else where
I wish with all my heart and Soul
That they our *Quarrels* would controul.
For this same *Atreus* and *Thyestes*
Are both stark naught who er'e the best is.
Cat after kind exact: 'Tis plain
That neither of 'em cross the strain.
Pelops their Father was, and he
Kill'd his own Wives *Dad a dadde*
He loved the Sport so well that rather
Then want a Wench he'd kill a Father.
Nay more, the most ungrateful Woer
Hang'd the poor *Pimp* that helpt him to her.
Now if the *Heraulds* books don't fail us,
Pelops was Son of one *Tantalus*;
He was, as is reported common,
Of *London Town* a Serjeants Yeoman:
Who to arrest a Cook, once came
In place *Ram Ally* call'd by name:
Some *Clerks* and *Bullies* of the Cloisters
Were there by chance then opening Oysters:
These seeing their *Cook* in woful danger,
On whom they lay at Rack and manger:
Or as some say, 'twas chiefly 'cause
They saw a Rupture in the Laws,
And sacred Franchise of the Ally;

They never stand ye shally shally,
But take poor *Tant* and hurl him in
To Temple *Bog-house* up to th' Chin.
But here the Mischief ends not yet
(To see a Cooks malicious wit!) / [104]
When *Tant* had stood there half a day,
He thought him hungry, as we say.
His Knife unto the Spit he puts ye,
And pen'worth six of Roast Beef cuts ye;
In order then to what his heart meant,
He runs me strait to *Tants* appartment.
There holding it down in the Hole ,
He cry's you cursed Dog *Catchpole*,
Look what is here, do's your Maw crave it?
Yes, when y'are hang'd then you shall have it.
This said, in an heroick strain,
His hand he snatches up again.
Then brings he the flagon full of Ale,
Or as some *Authors* have it, *Stale* .
For Flagons oft have used been
Both to fill out, and empty in. / [105]
Or as the plain expression is,
Either to drink in, or to piss.
Now (as all Cooks do often try)
Hot stinks do make men develish dry.
The cunning Spit-man therefore, thus
Brings a full Pot to *Tantalus* :
Which wheh the poor Fool reaches at,
He empties it upon his Pate.
And this is briefly the first rising
Of that which we call *Tantalizing* .

ACT. II.

Enter Atreus,*and a Servant.*

Atreus . 'Tis true, my *Brother* did seduce
My *Spouse*, but that's not all th'abuse. / [106]
For *Jack* as I was saying, if he
Had done this out of *Amity*
And pure good will unto my Wife,
It had ner'e griev'd me, but, us'd life!
To Cuckold me out of meer scorn,
By flesh and blood cannot be born.

Ser. That's very true. But still I say Sir,
How if it were in a fair way Sir?

Atr. Lord *Jack*, thou art just such another:-
When the thing's cleer to make a puther?
For look ye, *Jenny*, had she been
As beauteous as is any Queen,
Then it might well have been as you say;
But she's as ugly as *Medusa*.
'Twas therefore done you plainly see,
In spight, and disrespect to me. / [107]
And now, dear Rogue, let think upon't:
For I'le not put up the affront.

Ser. Must my Dame too be guilty made?
For she was in the *Masquerade* -
Couchant, and did, as I may say.
Act her own part in the foul *Play*.
Must she then share in the Purgation,
As well as in the Recreation?

Atr. No *Jack*, my Wife's my Wife, and she
Must be indulg'd as part of me.
Besides all Women, if you mind,
Have weaker Vessels then Mankind,
More frail, and therefore not a little
Apt to be crackt, and very brittle.
On this account your pritty Lasses
Have been compar'd to *Venice Glasses*. / [108]
And should we Husbands fume and fret
For every Rap our Spouses get;
'Twould be most redicule, and he
That does it, not at all jentee.
Then lastly know, we both dispence
With one another, in this sence.
And both have Conscience-Liberty
By Joint-consent of her and me,
To solace in a Modish manner,
And she not Curse me, nor I ban her.
But though my Wife goes Scotfree here,
I'le make it cost my *Brother* dear.
Now honest *Jack*, I pray you kindly,
Advise how I may do it finely.

Ser. Ah, Master, I'me but simply learned
To be in things of Weight concerned.
But since ye 'are pleas'd to have my answer,
To this I'le do the best I can Sirs. / [109]

What if we two, and a third Man
Should catch him Napping when we can;
And then e'ne geld him for a warning?
This sure will spoil his Trade of Horning.

Atr. But should I mayhem him in this sort,
And then he bring his *Action* for 't.
What Damage Juries may impose
For such a Carving, Heaven knows.

Ser. Then let him; since th' offence was done
In blankets, be well tost in one.
And so the business shall be ended
In the same manner he offended.

Atr. Well, should I like your way; but this
Too violent and open is.
I would some private trick invent
To give him a sound punishment,
And yet he ner'e the wiser for it,
As for the Triumph, I abhor it.

Ser. Why then, Sir thus: you need but stay
Till he too Marry's, and you may
By amorous Retaliation,
Debauch his Wife in the same fashion.
Thus you shall have Sir, (when you doe't)
Revenge, and a fresh Girl to boot.

Atr. I like this better then all yet:
But, *Jonney*, here's the Devill of it,
Delay in these things is so hellish,
It dulls the Sport, and palls the Relish.
Revenge and Love should both advance
Sa, *Sa*, in the brisk aire of *France* -
I feel a rumbling in my belly
To do a thing which I won't tell ye.
Sure 'tis some Spirit that thus puts
Me on, and agitates my Guts.
Well I will on, and never fear it,
Since 'tis a motion of the Spirit.
And Spirits less Fanatique are
In belly then in brain, by far.
Jack, run; and send some idle Boy
To you know who with this his Envoy:
That howsoer'e my Carriage past
May give him cause of some distast,
I humbly begg now to be Friends;
And for those honest Golden Ends

Beseech him that he would not fail
To come and tast of my Wives *Ale*;
And when he comes it shall go hard!
But something else shall be prepar'd. / [112]
You understand me *Jack*?

Ser. Yes Master.

Atr. I prithee run a little faster-
Yet stay. A loose *Boy* may betray us;
I'le send my own Sons *Menelaus*,
And *Agamemnon* with a Letter:
And that will do a great deal better.

Exeunt.

CHORUS.

Methinks these are but old *Caprices*
To make two Brothers fall a peeces,
And quarrel for so poor a thing
As is a little Cuckolding.
And what de'e think Sirs, all this while,
Is that which makes so great a Coil?
But a meer empty Name! For the thing
Was never seen by any breathing, / [113]
Nor felt, nor heard; and why then shou'd
This word dare to be understood?
'Tis but an *Embryo* miscarriage:
It is the Maiden-head of Marriage;
And Maiden-heads for ought I can see,
Only consist in a strong Fancy.
Then Cuckoldry and Pusillage
Are but two shaddows of the Age.
Twixt which the difference is not great:
A single and a double Cheat.
And yet for this men take the pains
To beat out one anothers brains.
Nor do they spare the other Sex,
But often break their Spouses necks.
Then happy she, whose Husband's wary,
And keeps her caged like Bird-Canary,
Giving her once a day, with care,
Linseed and water, fresh and fair. / [114]

Unknown to Town-wits, and unknowing
Coaches, she spends her time in sewing.
Or else in spinning, or in knitting:
And has her belly full of sitting.
But she that is for Beauty famous,
And knows a man, abroad, from a Mouse.
Whose fine *French* carriage never wants
Variety of fresh Gallants.
Much Love without doors while she gets,
Causing within more jealous heats,
May dye of Husbands bangs perhaps:
If not, yet of her Servants Claps. / [115]

ACT. III.

Enter *Thyestes*, with a Bagg
in his Hand.

'Tis good before I further go,
To think if it were best or no.
Or (as I read once in a Book)
Before I take my leap to look.
The scruple, then which in my brain lye
I'le open legally, and plainly.
The Case is thus. *A* lies with *B*.
I.S.'s Wife: *I:S.* sends *C*
To *A* with formal Invitation
To come and tast of a Collation.
A doubts *I.S.* is double hearted,
Or (if you'l have it word-of-arted)
A meer Trapanner, and demuring,
Is not o're hasty to be stirring.
The Points are two. First whether *A*.
Should go: or, Secondly, shou'd stay.
The Case being thus stated, hark ye
How all the Parts about me argue.
In the first place, my head cries tarry;
For should he break me you'd be sorry:
'Tis more then likely he forgets not
How you us'd his head: though he frets not,
Nor shews resentment by much huffing
Yet he may pay all off with cuffing.
My back and sides have the same fears
For bangs: so have for lugs my ears. / [116]

Now on the other side, my belly
Saies go, or else the Devil quel ye;
There will be Viands choice and dainty;
And of good Bub no doubt great plenty. / [117]
My Guts will swim in lushious Seas
Of Ale as strong as *Hercules*.
My Eyes cry, on; and leave your fears:
Or else wee'l drow'nd our selves in Tears:
But if you go, we hope once more
To see his Wife, that honest Whore.
And there's another part of mine
That's mad with the self-same design.
My members being thus divided,
Now hang me if I can decide it.-
But look: while here I stand and ponder,
Somebody comes to meet me yonder.
'Tis he himself with a clean Band on.
This is an honour, and a Grand one!

Enter Atreus.

Atr. My dear *Thyestes*!

Thy. Dearest Dear!

(*Embrace.*

Atr. How glad am I to see you here? / [118]

Thy. And how does all at home Boy? Cranky?

Atr. All reasonably well, I thank ye -

Thy. But how, but how, does your good Wife?

Atr. Oh, lusty (as they say) for life:
As brisk, as jolly, and as ayrie
As a young Kitlin, or a Fary.

Thy. And how does all your Children, lastly:
And honest *Towser* the old Masty?

Atr. All at your Service, my dear Sweeting.

Thy. Lord, how yo' are alter'd since last meeting
Methinks you're grown more tall & bony.
But for those *Breeches*, I'de not known ye.

Atr. Brother, once more I'me glad to see ye:

And if ye' ad brought your Puss-Cats wi' ye / [119]
My happiness had been compleat.

Thy. Sweet Sir, if that will do the Feat;
They're in this bagg, and at your service.

Atr. More welcome then Sun-shine in Harvest;
Then nine a clock to Prentice boys
In winter nights; or Marriage-Joyes
To crooked Virgins, is each Puss
To, Sir, your Servant *Atreus*.
But wherefore are they thus convey'd,
Like Pig in Pocket - Masquerade?

Thy. To let 'em beat upon the hoof
Thus far, had merited reproof.
For surely *Brother*, it is fitting
They ride when they go a Visiting.
Therefore to save their feet a labour,
I stole this Cock-bagg of a Neighbour:
And it as well serves their turn, for ought
I see, as a guilt Coach or Chariot.

Atr. 'Tis very true - But see,we 'are come
To the Frontier that is, ee'n at home.
Repose a while, pray, in the inner
Parler; and I'le go hasten Dinner.

Exeunt.

CHORUS.

How suddainly these Brothers twain
Fell out? how soon they'r Friends again?
Could any man alive imagine
Peace after such a huff and raging?
Well: though I say't that should not say't,
True Love cannot be long in hate. / [121]
So have I seen (as Poets say)
Domestick Dudgeon in a Fray.
When Coblers Wife 'gainst Cobler, for
Prerogative, denounces War.
Cob calls *Tib* Bitch, and takes his stirrup
With which he vows he will firk her up.

But *Tib* as valerous as a Lass
As er'e *Penthesilea* was,
Scorns to turn Tail on any man,
But bids him do the worst he can:
Then snatches up a basting Ladle.
With which she vows to break his Nodle.
And to defend her self from him,
Takes for a buckler her Wheel Rim.
Thus arm'd, they both begin the fight
With all the Conduct requisite.
Fury had but a while run loose,
When *Cob* was glad to begg a Truce: / [122]
And *Tib*, who was no Jew nor Heathen,
Granted a time we call a breathing.
Now *Cob* takes up his Awle and Pinser,
As the best Weapon to convince her.
Tib changes hers too, and thinks fit
To play it out at single Spit.
So skilfully she Fenc'd and Parry'd,
That the poor Cuckold she soon weari'd.
At length when Female Rage was spent,
Tib to a Treaty does consent.
Then over half a dozen of stale-
Beer, or perhaps Beer and Ale,
Which *Cob* had sacrific'd to Peace,
All's well again; and Discords cease.
Thus 'twixt the Brothers it has been:
First they fall out, and then fall in.
O what a *Jilt* is *Gammer Fortune*?
No VVeather-cock is more uncertain. / [123]
A Spinster of so rough a hand,
That when her work seems at a stand,
She gives her Wheel a whisk o'th' suddain,
And stirs all round like Hasty Pudden.

ACT. IV.

Nuncius . Chorus .

Cho. Pray Master *Nuncius*, what does vex ye?
If one may be so hold to ax' ye.

Nun. Oh! heavy News as happen'd ere yet!
So heavy I can scarcely bear it.

Cho. Ah well away, this does so quell me
I could e'en cry, before you tell me. / [124]
But let us hear it, with your favour,
How bad so er'e the Tale does favour.

Nun. For Loves sake tarry but a little,
And you shall know it ev'ry tittle.
I'me one that need but little dunning:
Only I'me out of breath with running.
Aye me. Alas, alas, Highoe.-
Sirs, in the first place you must know,
There were three dainty Tabby Cats
Thyestes loved as well as *Brats*.
Nay sure no *Chuck* nor *Child* could be
So dear to him as were these three,
I, and they were such pretty Creatures,
No *Miss* could match dear *Puss* for Features.
Sweetly they'd pur, and briskly they
Would lye upon their backs, and play. / [125]
But if by chance caught a Mouse
Lord! how they'd dance about the house?
And having found a little Creature,
They allwaies course her er'e they eat her.
While Noble sport *Thyestes* found
'Twixt *Muss* the Hare, & *Puss* Grayhound.
Now when our Neighbour Gaffer *Atreus*
Seem'd to his Brother very gracious:
Late sending to *Thyestes* Greeting,
He bid him to a merry Meeting;
To which his welcome should be such,
That even his Dog should have as much:
His love to him was so sincere,
That any thing of his was dear.
This was his Message; and ith' end on't-
Pray bring along the *Cur* appendant.
At this *Thyestes* heart was truly,
Soft as *May-Butter* is in *July*: / [126]
And melted down into his breeches,
To hear his *Brothers* kind beseeches.
But being well Educated, he
Did in this manner Repartee.

He tells him first that he will come;
But fears to be too troublesome.
Next, with due thanks, he does confess
He keeps no Dog, nor great nor less.
A Leash of Cats, indeed, he ner'e wants;
And they are his most humble Servants.
The Messenger a man of Honour,
Reply'd in this obliging manner.
He loves a Puss as well as any:
Bring all your Cats through ner'e so many.
And when you are at Dinner set,
They shall be into th' Dayry let;
Where they new Milk & Cream shall lap:
I, and some Firmity perhap. / [127]

Chor. This was all done *en Chevalier*.

Nun. True, but the sad Tale ends not here.
Thyestes comes, as he was pray'd,
With his Retinue abovesaid.
Atreus in very civil fashion
Gives him a kind Accomodation.
Pray take a seat, quoth he, I'le wait
Upon you, dearest *Brother*, strait.
VVhen out; the door he opening wide,
Beckons the Kittins a to side.
Suspecting nought, they follow; whom
He leads into a Drawing Room,
Which was a neat convenient place
Contriv'd just under the stair-case.
VVhen seeing his advantage pat,
He snickles up the Eldest Cat. / [128]
While the rest wonder what the man ment,
Esteeming this course Entertainment,
He hits me one full on the Sconce
With a *Battoon* made for the nonce.
So well the blow he re-inforc'd
That *Puss* must needs give up the Ghost;
Had her nine Lives been twenty one
Her Lease was now not worth a bone.
In *fine*, he kill'd the other lastly,
Though the poor Creature look't most Gastly.

Cho. *O Ruthfull Act*! -

Nun. 'Twas sad indeed:
But sadder that which did succeed.

Cho. Can there be worse then this is still?

Nun. Yes, this is but a Peccadill. / [129]

Cho. Did he for Hawks-meat keep the Carren?
Or hang 'em up in the next Warren.

Nun. Would it had been as you have said.
No: he insulted o're the dead.
And in a strain most furious,
Spoke thus to each deceased *Puss*.
Butchers are scarce, and dear their Meat:
You'l make a most obleiging Treat.
Delitious Diet, oh how rare!
Then reckons up his *Bill* of *Fare*.
This shall a roasted *Cony* be.
And this shall make a *Fricasee*.
And thou, quoth he, that there dost lye,
Sha't make an excellent *Hare-Pye*.
Briefly, he cook'd 'em: lay'd the Cloath:
Then serv'd them in; but first some broth, / [130]
And now *Thyestes* (oh sad thought!)
Eats his own Cats, suspecting nought.
Methinks 'tis very dark; I think
I'de best go in and light a Link.

Exit.

CHORUS.

Noble *Don John* of *Arles*,
What is it does you thus displease.
What makes you hide behind a Cloud
That pretty Face, as if grown proud?
Has some *Star-Gazer* wrong'd your Fame,
Using, to Vouch a Lye, your Name?
And we who hate their Impudence
Are punisht thus for their Offence?
'Tis a sad thing, and to be pitty'd,
That where a Felony's committed, / [131]
A Jury of *Albumazars*
Find *Billa vera* of the *Stars*,
As *Accessarys*, *scilicet*
By knowing and concealing it.
Nay some there are who in their writing

Pronounce 'em guilty by inciting.
If any miss a Ring or Spoon
Strait these examine Mistress *Moon*,
As Queen of *Nimmers*, or what's worse,
Executrix of *Moll Cut-Purse*.
Never was *Bull* so bated as is
Taurus by these well-willing *Asses*.
The *Twins* cannot imbrace in quiet,
Nor do that thing which they don't pry at.
Cancer hath been so teaz'd, and took up,
That he starts back if they but look up.
Virgo they ve so abus'd, they force her
To loose her Name, and take a *Coarser.* / [132]
For who can think her Chast, with whom
Men so familiar are become?
And in the like abusive fashion
They vex each *Star,* and *Constellation*.
Leo can't fright 'em from it, no
Nor *Saggitare,* nor *Scorpio*:
But still with their Impertinency's
They fret the *Stars* out of their sences.
Yet must these *Almanack Scribbellers*
Be to the *Planets* thought Well-willers.
So *Pedagogues* that fle the Bum,
In that do the *Boy's* Friends become. / [133]

ACT. 5.

Atreus Solus.

So: Now I ve taken a Revenge
Will be as Famous as *Stone-Henge*.
Succeeding Ages will scarce credit
What I have done, when they shall read it:
How kindly I did circumvent,
And treat him in a Punishment;
Yet gin't him too as home and fully
As ever Whore gave Clap to *Bully*.
To feast my Guest with his own Cat,
Is Paramount Revenge, that's flat.
But still to mak't more Tragical,
Thyestes at my feet shall fall;
Dead drunk with double lanted Ale,

In which I le scrape my left Thumb nail. / [134]
Right: that will make a charming potion.
See where he comes to meet the motion,
Singing *Old Rose*, and *Jovial Ca'ches*.
But I'le retire a while; and watch his
Leasure, without like a poor body,
Least I disturb the sweet Melody.

Exit.

Enter Thyestes, *Singing*.

Thyes. *Come lay by your Care, and* - No, no,
That's not the Key, I am too low.
Try once more- *Come lay by your Care*
And hang up your sorrow - I there!
What follows? oh- *Drink on, he's a Sot*
That er'e thinks of to morrow - What,
Is fore-cast bad? and is it naught
To drink a health to one's good Thought? / [135]
Me-thinks this Song is too too Frolick;
I'le try one that's more Melancholick.
Beneath a Mirtle shade - But mum;
For now my Tears begin to come.
And whosoever dares engage her,
I le weep with *Maudlin* for a Wager.

Enter Atreus.

Atr. Brother, how is't?

Thy. Thank ye, good *Brother*.
Pray how comes all this smoak & smother?

Atr. Smoak? where?

Thy. Why all about the Room.
Ten Chimny's can't make such a Fume.
Look where it rises at your Feet.
It makes my Eyes run or'e to see't.

Atr. (*aside*.) See, see, how the poor Baby cry's.
Sure 'tis the Ale works through his Eyes. / [136]
'Tis even so, the sottish *Drinker*
Is got as Fudled as a *Tinker*.
But that sha'nt serve: I'le make him er'e
I've done, as drunk as any Bear. -
Brother, my Wife desires to be
Remember'd to you, and de'e see;

Has sent you here a merry Wasail,
Which is as good as she, or as Ale
Cou'd make. A tast of Love she ment it,
And therefore Kist the Cup, and sent it;
You understand me?

Thy. Very well.
Thy Wife's an honest *Doxy-Dell* -
Without all doubt, this cunning Gipsy.

aside

Longs for once more, or I am tipsy-
Give me the Bowl- (*drinks*) -Now tell the Quean
All's off; and shee'l know what I mean. / [137]
And hark ye. Tell her that I greet her
Kindly, and will not fail to meet her.

Atr. Good. -

Thy. Hark ye, Brother, does your Room
Here, learn to dance? So I presume:
It turns upon the Toe so smoothly,
And quick withall, I tell you soothly,
It makes me giddy with its wheeling!
Motion, and sets me to a Reeling-

Atr. Reeling, that's my Cue. Now I may
Discover the Intrigue o'th' Play.
Since in that door the Wind is got,
'Tis time to reconcile the Plot.-
How do you like your Cats my Friend?

Thy. Well; but I dare not much commend
For fear you steal 'em; nor is this same
Fear vain and Pannique, for I miss'em. / [138]

Atr. 'Las they've miscarri'd all to day,
Some hang'd, some drown'd, as one may say
And 'cause they should not basely fall,
'Twas I, dear heart, that kill'd 'em all.

Thy. Was this done like a loving Brother?
Or like a Friend? Sure neither nother.
But let that pass. I'le spare my Curses-
Their skins will make me three good purses
I'le goe and flea 'em.

Atr. But the Jest is

You 'ave dined upon'em, dear *Thyestes*.
And I both Butcher was, and Cook
To serve you Sir.

Thy. Now I could puke-
O *Cuckold Cook* to Treat me thus!
O hated Hang-dog to hang Puss!
O Son of an old rotten Whore!
In *fine* - I'le sleep and tell you more. / [139]

Lies down.

Atr. Io, *Victoria*! now at last
By me, and Fortune thou art cast.
Lye there. Such Victories as these are
Will swell me up as big as *Caesar*.
When the *High Germans* be bumbasted.
Less Triumph and content be tasted.
Even now, since thus my Brother fell,
I seem as tall as a High Constable.

FINIS. / [140]

EPILOGUE

Thus, Readers, have ye seen Thyestes *Feast,*
Both as a History, and as a Jest:
The substance and the shaddow of the Play.
No doubt you are great Judges now- - Faith say
Which Diet likes ye best, as 'tis befor e ye?
Or which of these you think the truest Story?
Whether Heroique Fustian drest in Meeter,
Or Mimmick *Farce in Jingling Rhime sounds sweeter?*
Which raises most Concern, which most surprise,
No Plot, no Characters, or no Disguise? / [141]

Say what you please of Seneca, *it is*
All one to him whether you Clap *or* Hiss.
But know, th' applause which Stationers *desire*
Is not so much to praise a Muse *as buy her.*
What e re your Authors, *or your* Actors *think,*
Your Man of Trade admires not Claps, but Chink. / [142]

ERRATA

1. Page 12. l. 137. Sun] Son.
2. Page 18. l. 220. sorrify] sottisfie.
3. Page 20. l. 251. Let] et 'em.
4. Page 21. l. 264. vext] next.
5. Page 29. l. 346. Envoy] envy.
6. Page 34. l. 413. doe] doth.
7. Page 38. l. 465. with] wish.
8. Page 41. l. 500. till it I left] till it left.
9. Page 50. l. 607. credit] Credit.
10. Page 51. l. 609. Brother] brother.
11. Page 59. l. 727. yet] ye.
12. Page 64. l. 788. vext] next.
13. Page 68. l. 835. No] Nor.
14. Page 69. l. 854. can I tell] I tell.
15. Page 72. l. 896. Dews] dew's.
16. Page 73. l. 907. No] Nor.
17. Page 74. l. 928. Belt]
18. Page 79. l. 991. Ho there] So there.
19. Page 86. l. 1094. Convex] connex.
20. Page 89. l. 1141] his.
21. Page 91. l. 1169 gobets] goblets.
22. Page 93. l. 1192. doth] do.
23. Page 96. l. 1217. You'r vext] Your next.
24. Page 96. l. 1220. I'Ignorant] Ignorant.
25. Page 99. l. 37. On then] Oh then.

26. Page 110. l. 57. Cooks] Cocks.

27. Page 105. l. 137. he]

28. Page 110. l. 203. two] too.

29. Page 114. l. 271. Cuckoldry] Cuckoldy.

30. Page 126. l. 447. Creature]

31. Page 133. l. 567. Scribbellers] Scriblers.

32. Page 134. Act 5] Act 1.

33. Epilogue. l. 2. and as a Jest] and a Jest.

34. Epilogue. l. 8. Farce] Fare.

JASPER HEYWOOD'S TRANSLATION OF SENECA'S THYESTES , WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LATTER'S SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECEPTION AND THE THEMES OF TYRANNY, KINGSHIP AND REVENGE

2 VOLUMES: VOLUME TWO:

THE COMMENTARY

BEVERLEY JANE PUGH

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR PHD CLASSICS.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS AND ANCIENT HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

English Senecas 1893-1997

This commentary forms part of the recent wave of attention to Senecan studies. It aims to explore the reception of Seneca's text of the *Thyestes* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was prompted in part by my interest in O'Keefe's analysis of Heywood's translation of three of Seneca's tragedies (1974), Daalder's modernised edition of Heywood's translation (1982), and Tarrant's commentary on Seneca's Latin text (1985).[1] Since these three works have influenced my approach to Senecan studies, it is worth reviewing them briefly. O' Keefe thoroughly discusses Heywood's rendering of *Troas*, *Thyestes* and *Hercules Furens*. He offers a detailed account of Heywood's life; discussion of the availability of Senecan texts in England in 1559; comments on the poetic quality and accuracy of the translations and their possible impact on later literature; and an examination of Heywood's renderings as an illustration of the changing role of the translator. The *Thyestes* is afforded greater attention in the main body of O'Keefe's thesis than either *Troas* or *Hercules Furens*. The three chapters dedicated to the *Thyestes* consider the notes on dramatic thought that are offered in the Preface; and they consider the *Thyestes* as a translation, with particular attention being given to Heywood's phrasing

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[1]O'Keefe, J., (1974), *An analysis of Jasper Heywood's Translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes, and Hercules Furens* (Dissertation: Loyola University of Chicago); Heywood, *Thyestes: Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Translated by Jasper Heywood: ed. J.Daalder* (London:1982) ; Tarrant, R.J., (1985), *Seneca's Thyestes* (Atlanta, Georgia).

versification and poetic figures. He considers areas where Heywood has paid close attention to the Latin and instances where the English version of the Latin is poor. In an attempt to explain the latter, O'Keefe consults various Renaissance editions of Seneca, particularly that of Ascensius (1513). He also notes specific instances where Renaissance editions explain Heywood's interpretation of the Latin. Unfortunately, O'Keefe's understanding of the text of the *Thyestes*, in particular, is hindered by the utilisation of the Loeb text as his primary text source, and his failure to comprehend (in places) the meaning of Heywood's vocabulary. He does provide an interesting list of Seneca's Latin words and the English derivatives that Heywood uses and a further list of English words utilised by Heywood, that are now obsolete. The literary parallels to the *Thyestes* that are drawn by O'Keefe focus predominantly on the similarities that exist between the imagery of night and darkness in Seneca's text and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, with no notable regard for further examples from vernacular drama. References to texts, whether literary or critical, are limited- O'Keefe alludes to *Mirror for Magistrates* and Heywood's *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* to illustrate the influence that the *Thyestes* exerted on contemporaneous literature and to account, in part, for the popularity of Heywood's translation; and to Thomas Nashe's Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589) and he alludes to Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (1598) to demonstrate the attention that Heywood received from his contemporaries.

Daalder's edition aids the reader who possesses no knowledge of Latin to appreciate Seneca's text, and offers a select number of succint notes for the student who is studying the text as an example of Elizabethan translation. The annotations trace the most significant variations between Loeb's Latin and the texts that Heywood utilised; and record instances where Heywood has consulted certain Latin editions, in particular the Gryphius edition of

Seneca's *Tragoediae* (1541) and Ascensius' edition of Seneca's *Tragoediae* (1513). This modernised text develops the edition prepared by McIlwraith (1938)- there is an increase in the number of notes and the errors of the 1938 edition have been corrected. In the extensive Introduction, he focuses on Seneca and the historical and literary background of the Thyestean myth, the reasons for Seneca's popularity in the period, *Thyestes* as a Renaissance play, the similarities between the *Thyestes* and a select number of Shakespeare's plays (for example, *Macbeth* , *Hamlet* and *Othello*), biographical details of Heywood's life, the merits of Heywood's translation; and, in the Appendix, the Latin texts that Heywood may have consulted. In the Introduction the discussion does not centre on specialised literature for there are only passing references to Marston's plays as a canon, Sackville's and Norton's *Gorboduc* and Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* . The commentary continues the Introduction's emphasis on Shakespearean drama- the annotations include references primarily to *Macbeth* and *Richard II* . There are however, scant allusions to plays by Marlowe and Marston- *Edward II* and *The Jew of Malta*, and *The Malcontent* respectively. Daalder may have concentrated his attention on the citation of Shakespeare's plays because of the controversy which surrounds the parallels between the two dramatists. There is though, a noticeable lack of allusion to *Titus Andronicus* , perhaps the most obviously 'Thyestean' play of Shakespeare . The modernisation does not recreate the form of the printed text of the 1560 edition- for example, Daalder reproduces the fourteener in full as in the 1581 edition and not in the eight plus six syllable lines of the 1560 edition; he concentrates the title of the speaker to the centre of the page; in certain places, he alters the punctuation of Heywood's translation; and, he highlights Heywood's comment on the action by the introduction of the term s.d. (the only stage directions that are present in the modernisation are those of the 1560

edition). In fairness, Daalder made these adjustments in order to make the text appear more intelligible and usable.

Tarrant's admirable commentary serves as an aid to the aspiring Latinist whose knowledge of Seneca may be minimal. Thus, in the Introduction detailed analysis of the stylistic features of Seneca's plays is relatively slight; and greater emphasis is placed on discussion of Seneca's life, and on his tragedies, with attention to background, date, performance, metre, myth, their importance in literature and their publication history. It could be suggested that the meagre nature of the stylistic section is due to the complex nature of Seneca's style. The important element of the Stoic hue of the drama receives scant attention in Tarrant. The section on the later history of the tragedies centres on Seneca's popularity in the sixteenth century- here, he briefly explores the reasons for this and the influence that Seneca exerted on the literature of the period. Tarrant's conclusion fails to acknowledge the full extent of Seneca's contribution- he accentuates the role of Seneca's dramatic verse, giving meagre attention to the direct echoes of Senecan lines that appear in dramatists such as Kyd and Marlowe. However, the most significant borrowings are recorded, without ensnaring the student in detailed literary criticism. In the main body of the commentary, he does make useful reference to lines in Shakespeare's plays which bear similarity to particular lines of the *Thyestes* - with *Richard II*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* receiving greatest attention. The focus rests on lines that reproduce Seneca's intensity of language and engrossing imagery. Tarrant does offer bibliographical details where discussion is meagre. However, he is careful to limit his references to non-specialised literature. Brief allusion is made to the translation history of Seneca's plays in the sixteenth century- with no definite reference to Heywood's version. He views the translations as

an expression of the reception Seneca received from the Elizabethans but does not offer an analysis of their merits or shortcomings.

It can be seen from the foregoing analysis of these central works of English Senecan criticism that a wider approach, taking into account sources other than the purely literary, might be able to supplement the relatively narrow foci of O'Keefe, Daalder and Tarrant. Hence this thesis also takes visual sources in conjunction with the textual ones in order to present a more fully contexted picture of the changing, but consistently popular, appeal of the *Thyestes* to English dramatists, audiences, educators and savants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Scholarly attention from the nineteenth century onwards has been divided on the issue of Seneca's influence in modelling Renaissance tragedy. J.W.Cunliffe's *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (1893, reprinted 1965) is perhaps the most widely discussed of a number of works dealing with this subject.[2] Criticism of Cunliffe's book focuses on his emphasis on verbal echoes as a definitive illustration of Seneca's instrumental shaping of Renaissance tragedy. The lack of contextual discussion coupled with Cunliffe's concentration on the presence of parallel passages in Hughes' minor play, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, means that his hypothesis is not conclusively proven. This is not to deny Cunliffe's consideration of a selection of other plays by dramatists such as Kyd, Jonson, Chapman, Marston, Marlowe, Massinger, Ford, Greene, Tourneur, Fletcher, Webster and Shakespeare. It becomes clear as the work progresses that Hughes' play receives a high level of attention because Cunliffe felt that it marked a development in the quality of the literature of the period. Seneca's *Thyestes* is considered alongside *Troas*, *Agamemnon*, *Hippolytus*, *Octavia* and *Oedipus*. Discussion of the

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[2]Cunliffe, J.W., (1965) [facsimile of 1893], *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy* (Hamden, Conn.).

influence of the *Thyestes* centres on examples in Renaissance dramatists of the reproduction of rhetorical dialogue, Stoical fatalism, the mode of expression and thought contained in the Messenger speech, the Thyestean cannibalistic feast, descriptions of rural scenery, and the presentation of evil and revenge. Although, the work contains numerous passing references to literary parallels to the *Thyestes*, Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* are awarded a higher level of recognition. The influence of the *Thyestes* as a Latin text is noted in Appendix 1 where Cunliffe cites instances in Marlowe's *Edward II*, and Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, *The Malcontent* and *The Fawn* where Seneca's lines have been quoted.

Cunliffe's attempt to establish the indisputable nature of Seneca's influence was developed by the work of Lucas, Eliot and Charlton.[3] However, Lucas in his *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1922) finds many of the Shakespearean parallels cited by Cunliffe to be mere coincidence. Lucas argues that the borrowings from Seneca that are found in Chapman and Marston are a stronger illustration of direct influence. He broadens the scope of literature under discussion- there is reference to vernacular plays such as *Gorboduc*, *Tancred and Gismund*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, the four monarchic tragedies of William Alexander, *The Spanish Tragedy* , *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth*, *Antonio and Mellida*, *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*; brief allusion to the contemporaneous interest in translating Seneca into English; and scant consideration of neo-Latin plays such as William Alabaster's *Roxana*.

Eliot (1932) explores the issue of Seneca's influence in three ways- through examination of popular Elizabethan tragedy, Senecan drama and

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[3]Lucas, F.L., (1922), *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge); Eliot, T.S., (1932), *T.S.Eliot: Selected Essays* (London); Charlton, H.B., (1946), *The Senecan Tradition in Renaissance Tragedy* (Manchester).

the two Roman tragedies of Ben Jonson. He aims to review the arguments concerning Seneca's moulding of horror in Elizabethan drama, of rhetorical expression and of thought without intricate reference to any particular play. His essay attempts to determine whether the translations of Seneca extended the Roman playwright's influence or altered the Elizabethan appreciation of him. Thus, he deliberates whether dramatists were beholden to these translations. Eliot does consider the Elizabethan translation movement in its intellectual setting, with reference to the publication of the *Tenne Tragedies* (1581)- thus, there is a brief analysis of contemporaneous academic life, including texts for study and for performance within University colleges. The account, like that of Lucas, does not present a detailed evaluation of the *Thyestes*, either in Latin or in translation. There is however, a brief discussion of the meritorious rendering in English of the Messenger's speech in the *Thyestes*.

Charlton (re-issue 1946), like Cunliffe, presents a persuasive case for the immeasurable influence of Seneca on the drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The essay reveals the defining characteristics of the Senecan drama of England, France and Italy, and the gulf that exists between them. The argument proceeds with an examination of the charms of Senecan tragedy and their appeal for an early modern audience. In the final chapter, Charlton traces the steps of Seneca's entry into England and centres on his influence on the dramatist, Sir William Alexander. The vernacular dramas composed by George Buchanan, Ben Jonson, Thomas Kyd, John Marston and Thomas Sackville, together with William Alabaster's neo-Latin tragedy *Roxana* come under discussion. Apart from passing references, he dedicates five pages to an examination of Heywood's versions of Seneca's plays, including the *Thyestes*. Particular attention is given to the melodramatic scene that Heywood adds to the close of the tragedy. Disussion of the translations is linked to the

performance history of Seneca's plays as an indication of the playwright's popularity, and the translator's alterations as a mark of the tendencies of a contemporaneous audience.

The attack on these persuasive works is primarily led by Baker (1939) and Hunter (1967).[4] These scholars aim to destroy the 'myth' that Seneca shaped Renaissance tragedy. Thus, they analyse the structural, stylistic and thematic aspects of Senecan and Renaissance tragedy- focusing on, for example, the revenge theme, Chorus, five act structure, ghost and verbal echoes. Baker argues that the fiction surrounding Seneca's influence is founded on the bias of Cunliffe's thesis. He chiefly analyses *Gorboduc*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur* in an attempt to dispel this distortion. Examination of these plays reveals that the five act structure was probably derived from classical comedy, not from Seneca; that the rhetorical dialogue of the play could have been derived from a number of sources, including Seneca, metrical tragedy, the moral play and comedy; that the figure of the ghost, especially in the case of *The Spanish Tragedy* , bears only superficial resemblance to Seneca and more immediate similarity to *The Mirror for Magistrates* ; that the Chorus and the Messenger can be of no fixed origin; that the revenge motive probably derived from classical stories of figures such as Dido; and that the *sententiae* possess a superficial closeness to Latin parallels. Thus, Baker proposes that the aspects of tragedy are not solely dependent on one influence, Senecan or otherwise. Reference to the *Thyestes* is limited to the discussion of the ghost and the cannibalistic feast. The former prompts a brief analysis of Heywood's versions of the *Troas* and *Thyestes*, with the emphasis placed on the translator's additions to the text- the creation of

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[4]Baker, H.,(1939), *Induction to Tragedy: a study in a development of form in Gorboduc, The Spanish Tragedy and Titus Andronicus* (Louisiana State University Press); Hunter, G.K., (1967), Seneca and the Elizabethans: a case study. *Shakespeare Survey XX* .

the ghost of Achilles in *Troas* and the ghost of Seneca in the prologue to the *Thyestes*.

Hunter's discussion centres on the flaws in the arguments that are proposed by scholars such as Cunliffe and Charlton. He intends to present the competing influences on Renaissance tragedy in order to place Seneca's influence in a broader picture. Thus, he suggests (like Baker) that many of the elements in Renaissance tragedy (for example, *sententiae* and, the rule of fate and fortune) have been wrongly labelled Senecan for they could equally be characteristic of indigenous medieval and Renaissance taste. The study also redresses the failure of previous works to address the extent of the guidance exercised by classical authors (such as Ovid) who rest outside the genre of tragedy. Hunter attempts to highlight the differences between Senecan and Renaissance drama by offering an analysis of the Roman dramatist's dramatic style and ethical position. The latter leads Hunter to concentrate on the distinstinction between Seneca as a Stoic and the Christian nature of Elizabethan society. He argues that this difference has not been awarded the significance it merits to demonstrate the fascination of Seneca for the Elizabethans and their inability to emulate him. The literature under consideration is relatively wide in scope, including vernacular and neo-Latin drama, works of literary criticism and the translations of Seneca. Vernacular drama, in particular *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Titus Andronicus*, receives the highest level of attention. Discussion of the translation movement is slight and there is only a brief reference to Heywood's version of the *Thyestes*.

The selection of works that follows represents a handful of scholarly studies, published between 1959 and 1994, which deal with the issue of Seneca's transmission and influence. I felt that these would serve as a useful guide for developing a background knowledge for many of the ideas raised in the thesis. An account of the use of classical quotations in

Renaissance English tragedy is offered by E.M.Richmond-Garza in *Forgotten Cites/ Sights: Interpretation and the Power of Classical Citation in Renaissance English Tragedy* (1994); of Stoicism is presented in R.M.Wenley's *Stoicism and its Influence* (1963), G.D.Monsarrat's *Light from the Porch: Stoicism and English Renaissance Literature* (1984), T.G. Miles' *Untir'd Spirits and Formal Constancy: Shakespeare's Roman plays and the Stoic Tradition* (1987), A.Chew's *Stoicism in Renaissance English Literature: an introduction* (1988); of anger is provided by G.Braden in *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: anger's privilege* (1985); of tyranny and kingship is supplied in R.W.Bushnell's *Tragedies of Tyrants* (1990); of stage productions of Seneca is produced by Smith in the article entitled 'Toward the Rediscovery of Tragedy: Productions of Seneca's Plays on the English Renaissance Stage' (*Renaissance Drama IX* 1978); of revenge is contributed by F.T.Bowers in *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy 1587-1642* (1959) and by C.A.Hallett and E.S.Hallett in *The Revenger's Madness:A Study of Revenge Tragedy Motifs* (1980); and of neo-Latin literature is proffered in Binn's essay 'Seneca and Neo-Latin Tragedy in England' (ed. C.D.N.Costa 1974).[5] It is hoped that this section of the Introduction will demonstrate the lack of specific attention to the *Thyestes* in this period. O'Keefe, Daalder and Tarrant are the only scholars to present a detailed examination in these years of Seneca's play.

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[5]Richmond-Garza, E.M., (1944), *Forgotten Cites/ Sights: Interpretation and the Power of Classical Citation in Renaissance English Tragedy* (New York); Wenley, R.M., (1963), *Stoicism and its Influence* (London); Monsarrat, G.D.,(1984), *Light from the Porch: Stoicism and English Renaissance Literature* (Paris); Miles, T.G., (1987), *Untir'd Spirits and Formal Constancy: Shakespeare's Roman plays and the Stoic tradition* (Oxford); Chew, A., (1988), *Stoicism in Renaissance English Literature: an introduction* (New York); Braden, G., (1985), *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: anger's privilege* (New Haven); Bushnell, R.W.,(1990), *Tragedies of Tyrants* (Ithaca, N.Y.); Bowers, F.T., (1959), *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy 1587-1642* (Gloucester,Mass.); Hallett, C.A., and Hallett, E.S., (1980), *The Revenger's Madness: A Study of Revenge Tragedy Motifs* (Lincoln,Neb); Costa, C.D.N.,(ed) (1974), *Seneca: Greek and Latin Studies* (London).

A discussion of the recent studies in Senecan scholarship cannot close without reference to D.Robin's article 'Film Theory and the Gendered Voice in Seneca' (1993), or to A.J.Boyle's *Tragic Seneca: An Essay in the Theatrical Tradition* (1997), and to the current translation movement.[6] Robin shows that Seneca can still be fodder for the cutting edge of theoretically informed scholarship, and that studies of him need not be confined to the purely textual. This article is important because it forms part of a recent wave of attention in scholarly circles to resolve the conflicts (and, indeed, links) between Classics and feminism. Robin uses film theory to examine the role of gender in Seneca's plays, with principal attention given to *Medea* and *Oedipus* . Perhaps unsuprisingly the *Thyestes* receives minimal consideration- comment is confined to the play's relationship to contemporary events. Robin argues that Seneca and the classic Hollywood films of the 1940s explore the place of the feminine in order to replicate the male dominance that permeated their respective societies. The article suggests that the female voice is employed in these two mediums as an emblem of irrationality and weakness. This is illustrated by reference to Seneca's *Agamemnon*, *Oedipus* and *Troades*; and to the films *The Spiral Staircase* and *The Lady in the Dark*. The physical and moral weakness of the female is depicted in these sources by the use of a male figure to interpret 'her' ramblings and visual fantasies- for example, Tiresias makes sense of Manto's ramblings in *Oedipus*. Robin proceeds to explore the issue of the repression of the female voice further by examining the role of the male voice-over in film. In conclusion, the article proposes that the representation of the voice in

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[6]D. Robin's essay in Rabinowitz, N.S., and Richlin, A., (eds.1993), *Feminist Theory and the Classics* (London): pp.102-121; Boyle, A.J., (1997), *Tragic Seneca: An Essay in the Theatrical Tradition* (London and New York).

Seneca and Hollywood films has become an emblem of a character's sexuality.

This commentary aims to develop the reawakening of an interest in a much neglected play signalled by Boyle's study. He considers the Latin text of the *Thyestes* in more detail than the other plays in the Senecan canon. The Latin text of the *Thyestes* is discussed at regular intervals, in particular with regard to its influence on the presentation of anger, revenge and the ghost in Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy. Reference to the Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* is limited- examination of the influence of the Senecan ghost prompts an analysis of Heywood's creation in his Preface of the ghost of Seneca; and consideration of the plurality of revengers in Renaissance tragedy leads to comment on Heywood's addition of a further scene. Boyle's book aims through a textual analysis of Senecan tragedy to reaffirm Seneca's importance in the Renaissance tradition. Although he adopts the flexible approach of recent Senecan studies, his aim is not to reproduce previous scholarship but to develop an understanding of Senecanism in Renaissance drama. Part One focuses on Senecan tragedy with an account of his rhetorical style, depiction of the psychological processes of the characters and sense of theatricality. Part Two is dedicated to an examination in three chapters of Seneca's relationship with the Italian, English and French drama of the Renaissance. Central attention is given to English Renaissance drama, with consideration of dramatic conventions, style, themes and metatheatre. Thus, he discusses the citation of Senecan lines, the remodelling of Senecan speeches and the influence of Seneca's use of the five act structure, archetypal examples of revenge, the ghost, the Chorus, presentations of passion and reason, rhetorical devices, depictions of violence and horror, and the themes of kingship and tyranny. The plays consulted are largely from the genre of tragedy with passing reference to

tragicomedy and comedy. Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*; Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*; Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois*; Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*; Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*; and Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* and *Catiline* are the main texts from the vernacular under consideration. Boyle briefly alludes to neo-Latin drama, with specific attention to Alabaster's *Roxana* and Gwinne's *Nero*.

Consideration of the contemporary translation movement offers a different insight into current thought on Senecan tragedy, and the continuing resonance of Seneca's texts for poets, playwrights and scholars. Ted Hughes' version of *Oedipus* (1969), D.R.Slavitt's translation (1992) of the canon of Senecan tragedy and Caryl Churchill's (1995) rendering of the *Thyestes* into English are the most notable.[7] The Introduction to Hughes' adaptation attests to the faithful nature of his translation and reveals that the poet has made few additions to the text. The alterations are limited to changes to a handful of Jocasta's speeches and the final Choral ode.[8] It is also worth considering briefly the first dramatic production at the Old Vic of Hughes' modern English version (19th March 1968). The performance is testimony to the relevance of the play to the twentieth century and to the timeless theatrical intensity of the drama. The directorial treatment of the adaptation manifests the internal power of the story. Peter Brook, the director, restricted the movement of the actors and introduced musical accompaniments, and set the play in an unspecific, almost generic, ancient culture. This divorce of the play from its original Roman context emphasised the universal applicability of Seneca's grim morality.

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[7]Hughes, T., (1969), *Seneca's Oedipus* (London); Slavitt, D.R., (1992), *Seneca: The Tragedies* (Baltimore and London); Churchill, C.,(1995), *Seneca:Thyestes* (London).

[8]see Hughes, ibid.: p.8.

In the Preface to his translation of *Thyestes* , Slavitt reveals that he created readable speeches reflecting the dramatic hue of the tragedy. Churchill's version stays relatively close to the Latin. The only significant alteration to the text is the shortening of certain Choral passages- for example, Chorus four. She suggests that her translation, like that of Heywood, utilises vocabulary characteristic of the age in which the version is made. The comprehensive Introduction offered by Churchill includes excerpts from Heywood's translation and comment on his merit as a translator; and a discussion of Seneca's influence on Elizabethan tragedy, with particular attention to Shakespeare. It seems appropriate to ask why the author of plays such as *Cloud Nine* (Royal Court 1979), *Softcops* (The Pit 1984), *Serious Money* (Wyndhams 1987) and *The Skriker* (Royal National Theatre 1994) should have turned her attention to this particular play. The aspects of Seneca's tragedy highlighted in Churchill's Introduction reveal the play's attraction for herself and the modern audience- the ghost, the Fury, the revenge theme, the depiction of horrific events, and the presentation of reactions to the prospect of drought and the ending of the world. These pointers prompt thoughts of reports from the Sudan, Rwanda and Ethiopia; news reports of the recent case of the violence of the Fred and Rosemary West family; and the violent movies of Tarrantino such as *Reservoir Dogs* and *Pulp Fiction* . In addition, Alastair Macaulay (*Financial Times* 11th June 1994) suggests that the translation was prompted by her interest in the macabre and subjects that evade conventional drama, and Michael Coveney (*The Observer* 12th June 1994) proposes that it was due to her fascination with sibling rivalry. The seventy minute production of Churchill's translation at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs on 7th June 1994 reflects the current interest in Seneca's tragedy and its relevance to our times. In James McDonald's modern dress production three monitors transmitted to the audience the

off-stage action, and the sound of gurgling water running through a pipe interrupts the action. I agree with Michael Coveney's (as above) comment that Churchill's translation has helped to restore Seneca to his rightful place on the modern stage.

Sources and Context

This brief analysis of the leading works in Senecan scholarship reveals that the cultural fall-out of Seneca's *Thyestes* has often depended on a limited and canonical range of textual sources. This evidence is commonly restricted to literary texts but in this thesis a conscious effort has been made to integrate visual material. For the early modern period, an age which was more visually attuned than our own, the power and meaning of images needs to be considered in any discussion of the reception of classical texts. Thus, I present hitherto unpublished texts and images- MS Sloane 1041 (c.1580) which specifies the directions for painting a table, in which the figures of Queen Elizabeth and Sir Nicholas Bacon (unnamed in the manuscript), the Lord Keeper, appear alongside various mythological and allegorical figures; and material that has formerly received negligible attention- the Hendrik Goltzius' engraving of Melpomene with its attached inscription (1592). As a supplement to my discussion of the visual material, I will examine the final filtering down of the influence of the *Thyestes* with its final manifestation in popular culture- John Wright's *Mock-Thyestes* in burlesque (1674).[9] This emphasis on the visual aspect forms an important and neglected sidelight on the status of the play. It reveals the means by which the texts are informing the image and narration, and reinforces the place of the culture of the

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[9]MS Sloane 1041, f.8r (unpublished); Strauss, W.L., (ed.1982), *The Illustrated Bartsch: Netherlands Artists: Hendrik Goltzius* (N.Y.): p.141; Wright, J., (1674), *Thyestes: A Tragedy, translated out of Seneca to which is added Mock-Thyestes in Burlesque* (London): hereafter often referred to as *MT*.

Senecan play within the Renaissance. The details highlighted in the sources, in particular MS Sloane 1041, frame the audience's view of the play and the dramatis personae- focusing on the emblems of the royal status of the principal characters and the evil nature of the protagonist.

MS Sloane 1041 (now in the British Museum), together with the Hendrik Goltzius engraving, suggests the theatrical performance of Seneca's *Thyestes* in a manner which has not been shown in previous publications. The details of costumes, settings, props and stage directions that are presented in the description of the *Thyestes* in the unpublished and undated Sloane manuscript imply either that the writer has seen a production of the *Thyestes* or that he envisages such a visually rich production. It is possible that the account may have been prompted by the production of Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* (1560) in the same year. Unfortunately, the records of performance for this period are limited and are largely restricted to chronological accounts offered by scholars such as Kawachi (1986).[10] In my opinion, the directions for the painting of the Lord Keeper and Queen Elizabeth in the table strongly suggest that the description was drawn up for decoration of the Bacon family home at Gorhambury, Hertfordshire (construction was started in 1563 and was completed in 1568). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509-79) received the post of the Lord Keeper on 22nd December 1558.[11] Evidence for dating the details of the table and justifying the representation of the Queen in the painting can be seen to be provided by Sir Nicholas' instructions for the decoration of a gallery (1576) at Gorhambury in honour of the Queen's visit in May 1577. The intention of the table to signify the dangerous schemes of traitors could be interpreted,

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[10]Kawachi, Y., (1986), *Calendar of English Renaissance Drama 1558-1642* (Garland Publishers).

[11]see (ed.) Stephen, L., (1885), *The Dictionary of National Biography: volume II* (London) for biographical details.

given the association of the painting with Gorhambury, as a visual emblem of Sir Nicholas' concern with the internal disorders of the country which had been caused by Mary Stuart. His awareness of the dangers posed by the Catholic sovereign are mirrored in his speeches on 15th December 1559 and at the opening of Parliament in 1563, and in his written answer to John Hales' declaration of succession.

Specific reference in the inscription attached to Goltzius' Melpomene engraving to the elevated style of the *Thyestes* together with allusions to significant tragic figures such as Electra and Hercules Oetaeus suggests the importance of the visual experience of the theatrical performance and, more significantly, the popularity of the play. Enquiries at several libraries have not enabled me to trace the author of the verses, Franco Estius. A brief biographical profile of Goltzius, the Dutch painter and engraver, will complement the discussion of the engraving.[12] He was born at Mülbrecht in 1558 and died in Haarlem in 1617. His father, Johann Goltzius, taught him the rudiments of art and Dirk Cuerenhert instructed him in engraving. The engravings that he made on his travels through Germany to Italy were modelled after Raphael and Michelangelo; in Italy he fostered a style founded on classicism and scholasticism; and the plates that he produced in Haarlem were engraved from the Flemish and Dutch masters. His nine plates of the Muses (1592) were a subject of Goltzius' own design and are held amongst his primary plates. Although, it does not advance the present argument it is interesting to observe that a similar woodcut of Melpomene (minus the inscription) appears in Thomas Powell's edition of John Heywood's allegory of *The Spider and the Flie* (1556).

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12 see (ed.) Turner, J., (1996), *The Dictionary of Art* (Macmillan Publishers Limited) for Goltzius' life and career[for biographical details see body of commentary].

[for further discussion of MS Sloane 1041 and the Hendrik Goltzius engraving see ll.85-6 of The Preface].

Restoration: Wright

The examination of the visual culture surrounding the *Thyestes* is made stronger by an analysis of Wright's burlesque. The afterlife of the *Thyestes* story is traced to the Restoration period and the playwright John Wright's double edition of a new translation in heroic couplets and an original burlesque of the story, also in rhyme. Using the satiric mode of the later, more libertine era, Wright can be seen to rely on his audience's familiarity with the classical story- both the plot and characters of Seneca's original and the language of high tragedy are ruthlessly undermined and debased in a pastiche of meticulous accuracy. The principal reason for juxtaposing the Restoration text with the Renaissance translation is the second wave of translations in the Restoration and the interrelationship between the popular drama of the 1630s and 1660s onwards. In the period of the Interregnum, a small number of neat verse translations of Seneca's tragedies were produced, although the *Thyestes* is not represented among them- Edward Sherburne's translation of Seneca's *Medea* was published in 1648, in 1651 Edmund Prestwich's rendering of the *Hippolytus* appeared and in 1660 Samuel Pordage produced a version of the *Troades*. In the Restoration, John Wright's translation of the *Thyestes* (1674) appeared alongside Edward Sherburne's translation of Seneca's *Troades* (1679) and John Talbot's version of the same play (1686), and Sherburne's rendering of the *Hippolytus* in 1700. This outbreak of Senecan translations together with the fashion for burlesques of classical legends was a probable result of the French influence on the court of Charles II. The new joke presented in Scarron's travesty of Virgil (published between 1648 and 1652) was quickly accepted in England for in 1664 Charles Cotton

produced his *Scarronides: or Virgile Travestie* . Although this is not a direct translation of Scarron's text, it was obviously influential in modelling Cotton's classical travesty and the following flow of burlesques of the works of Seneca, Homer, Ovid and Lucian.

England's connection with France had been cemented with the marriage (1625) of Charles I to Henrietta Maria, the sister of King Louis XIII; and the relationship between the two countries was furthered under Charles II with The Treaty of Dover (1670), in which France promised military and financial aid to its ally in return for the English King's adhesion to the Roman Catholic religion.[13] A full analysis of Court literature between 1630 and 1640 is outside the conspectus of this thesis, but even a perfunctory examination reveals clearly the importance of the French background and religion of Charles' Queen in shaping the cultural life of the Court. Her influence in fashioning the masques and plays of the Caroline Court is analysed by Veevers (1989).[14] Veevers' study does not consider her role in fashioning the burlesque but addresses the relationship between the Queen's religion and the arts. This leads to a detailed analysis of the influence of her belief in Platonic love in the form of French Devout Humanism, and her versions of *préciosité* and *honnêteté* in shaping the drama written for the Court.[15] The role of the latter in the Court's cultural life was primarily social, although these themes did have adequate connections with Catholicism. Platonic love had more substantial links with Catholicism because the Neoplatonic concepts of beauty and love were fostered by the cult of the Virgin Mary

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[13]for a new perspective on the history of Charles I's reign see Sharpe, K., (1992), *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London); for a broad biography of Charles II see Hutton, R., (1989), *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford).

[14]Veevers, E., (1989), *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge).

[15]ibid.: pp.48-58 for discussion of Platonic love, and pp.65-73 for an analysis of *préciosité* and *honnêteté*.

after the Counter-Reformation. The Queen's ideal of Platonic love formed the central feature of Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* (1636) and Davenant's *The Fair Favourite* (1638). This grouping also displays the elements of *préciosité* and *honnêteté* which encouraged a modest form of feminism. These ideals are fostered by the Queen in *The Royal Slave* - in the play, she protects the rights of women by demanding that the level of freedom enjoyed by men should be afforded to women. The wider implications of feminism, commonly centring on the character of the Queen in the dramas, made possible the debate of contemporary issues, particularly political conventions. Thus, the elite patronage of Henrietta Maria provided a frame of reference for dramatists in which they could explore an understanding of feminism, moral questions, and especially the ideals of power and authority; a frame of reference in which the *Thyestes* may be seen to fit.

The Underrated Drama of the 1630s

A discussion of the undervalued drama of the 1630s onwards demonstrates the fascination with presentations of tyranny and kingship in tragedy, the ability of the contemporaneous political situation to shape a society's dramatic products, and the continued appeal of these concepts in the periods surrounding the publication of the texts of the *Thyestes* of Wright and John Crowne (Drury Lane Theatre, 1680). The motifs of tyrannical kingship and regicide are freely used to reveal the weaknesses underlying Charles I's period of personal rule, in which he failed to acknowledge the wishes of his people and his accountability for his actions; and to explore alternative types of government.[16] The emphasis in drama on the political perplexity surrounding kingship is particularly

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[16]cf. Butler, M., (1984), *Theatre and Crisis* (Cambridge) for a study of English theatre in the years leading to the Civil War.

significant with regard to the question of regicide which dominated the period. On 27th January 1649 the jurisdiction of the Court at Westminster sentenced Charles I to death for innumerable and previously unheard-of crimes and on 30th January he was executed on the scaffolding at the Whitehall Banqueting Hall.

Discussion of alternative forms of government features in Richard Brome's *Queen and Concubine* (c.1636). The figure of the Queen is employed to challenge the oppresive form of rule represented by the King and his mistress, Alinda. In the course of the play, the King is made to admit his errors and confess that his autocratic rule has been built on his own fallibility; and the Queen and her supporters strive to reconstruct a democratic form of government. The symbol of adultery is central to the political message for it is used as an emblem for corruption within the state and the absence of stable government.

Further questions about the nature of kingship are generated in William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave* (1636). The elevation of the fictional character of the slave Cratander to the position of mock-King for three days reveals that learning is one of the prime requisites for a kingly character. It seems clear that Cratander is meant to serve as a measure against which Kings can assess their merits.

The problem of kingship also forms the focus of Courtier plays (1637-42). In Davenant's *The Fair Favourite* (1638) discussion centres on the opposing forces of the public and private self of a ruler. The romantic emblem, as in Brome's play, is endowed with political significance. The King is shown to be wrought with tension because he is torn between his wife and his desire for his first love. Although the intention of the play is obscure, it is relatively clear that Davenant is warning of the dangers of a King whose personal wishes are in contrast to the welfare of the state. A desire to reaffirm Charles I's power shapes Denham's *The Sophy* (1642),

in which the extreme demands for patriarchal authority are shown to have destroyed the essence of a King's potency as a ruler. The political message of the play teaches that a rightful King's strength lies in his friendship with his subjects. It would appear that the plays produced between 1630 and 1642 were mirroring the political needs of their society.

Crowne's *Thyestes* and its Political Context

The melancholic view of royal power presented in Seneca's *Thyestes* mirrored contemporaneous feelings for Wright and Crowne of political unease. An analysis of the historical and political events surrounding Wright's and Crowne's fascination with the gruesome tale may throw some light on the possible political rationale behind their choice of text. The year 1674 marked a dividing line in the history of the reign of Charles II. A deep gulf existed between the Roman Catholic atmosphere of the Court and the anti-papal fury of the Parliament. At the same time the King's period of personal rule ended in failure. The Dutch wars (1660-74) and the pro-French policy of the King had yielded little benefit. The attempts to draw the King from his Catholicising tendencies, to gain public approval for his foreign policy, to address the problem of the country's finances and to maintain a patriotic programme were all in vain and civil war was narrowly avoided.

Dramatists moved from commemorating the restoration of authority to considering the difficulties inherent in the application and character of power. Thus, Wright produced his translation and burlesque alongside William Joyner's Senecan tragedy *The Roman Empress* (King's, August 1670), Elkanah Settle's *Cambyses, King of Persia* (Duke's, January 1671) and Nathaniel Lee's *The Tragedy of Nero, Emperor of Rome* (King's, by May 1674). The focus of Joyner's tragedy is the topical subject of civil war and the ability of political disarray to cause moral chaos; Settle

concentrates on the issue of the rightful ruler and the very nature of power; and Lee's play continues the dramatic analysis of authority.

At the close of 1679, Charles' illness had focused attention on his successor and early in 1680 James was recalled. This provoked uncertainty and fear which is echoed in the works of the dramatists such as Crowne. His *The Misery of Civil-War* (Duke's, December 1679/ January 1680) together with his translation of the *Thyestes* reflect contemporary anxiety over the disturbances caused by the contemporary problem of succession, and the events leading up to the Monmouth Rebellion. Crowne's version is dominated by the images of the political consequences of uncertainty of knowledge, with specific attention to the qualities of kingship and the insecurity of a king's heir.

A brief analysis of Crowne's *Thyestes* is merited by the documented popularity of his text. He reproduces the basic details of Seneca's plot and a selection of Seneca's speeches. The alterations that are made to the text are dictated by the stage conventions and sensibilities of his time, and Crowne's ability to construct impressive set pieces. [17] In the opening scene the dialogue between the Fury and the ghost of Tantalus is condensed and they appear to Atreus in a dream at the close of the act; Act two retains the Senecan image of the golden ram; in the following act Aerope is shown in prison and Thyestes emerges from his cave in the desert; and Act four presents the wedding of Antigone and Philisthenes and the murder of the bridegroom. The motif of the cannibalistic feast is retained, but instead of being reported by a Messenger it is enacted on stage. Thus, Crowne develops the female roles and the romantic interest. Significant alterations are made to the characters of the brothers- for example, in Seneca Atreus is innately evil, whereas Crowne presents Atreus as a loving brother whose

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[17]cf. Smith, B.R., (1988), *Ancient Scripts and Modern Experience on the English Stage 1500-1700* (Princeton): pp.257ff.

character is tainted by Thyestes' depravity. Therefore, the character of the individual is portrayed as unstable, for the good Atreus becomes a tyrant and Thyestes, the rapist, becomes an honourable man. To contemporary audiences, the parallels between Seneca's royal brothers, and Charles II and the Duke of York must have seemed inescapable.

Heywood, the translator and his texts

It may be opportune before the main body of the commentary begins to offer a brief biographical outline of the translator, Jasper Heywood (1535-1598), with particular attention to his connections to the theatre of his day; and to the literary achievements of his family.[18] His father was a well-known epigrammatist and dramatist John Heywood (c.1497-c.1580). The popularity of the productions of his interludes at Court, such as *Mery Play between the Pardoner and the Frere* (1533), *Mery Play between Johan the Husbande, Tyb the Wife, and Sir Jhan the Priest* (1533) and *Four P's* (c.1543), may account for the favour that Jasper's translations received. His father is said to have had connections with the playwrights Ferrers and Baldwin, a relationship which Jasper also enjoyed. It is worth remembering that Elizabeth Heywood, Jasper's only sister, was the mother of the Metaphysical poet, John Donne. These relationships suggest that Heywood's family was at the centre of the literary networks and relatively avant-garde for their time. Jasper was sent to Oxford in 1547, where he completed his B.A. in 1553 and his M.A. in 1558. His period at Gray's Inn (1561 onwards), after leaving All Souls, presented him with the opportunity to meet dramatists such as Christopher Yelverton. The friendship with contemporaneous dramatists is attested in William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586). By 1562, he had entered the

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[18]Stephen, op.cit. for biographical details of the Heywood family.

priesthood and had joined the order of the Society of Jesus at Rome. This area of his life will offer little to augment our present discussion but it is of some interest. After two years of study during his stay in Rome, he moved to Dillingen in Bavaria to begin a teaching assignment. During this time he became involved in quarrels concerning usury. He was elected leader of the English Jesuit Mission in 1581 and on his return to England, after a period on the Continent, he was arrested (1583). Subsequently, he was sentenced to live in exile, initially in France and finally in Italy. Although it is not conclusive, it is significant to note that Heywood's renunciation of the world may be seen to parallel Thyestes' rejection of the earthly sphere in Heywood's addition to the text. [see ll.1884-2007 of the text].

Before the close of this section, we should fleetingly consider the Latin texts of Seneca that Heywood may have consulted. Even though it is difficult to ascertain which texts he was translating from, it seems likely that the Gryphius text was the one followed by Heywood. The presence of this text in the libraries in London and Cambridge from 1541 dictated my decision to include an edition of Gryphius in Volume I.[19]
[for further discussion of Latin texts see ll.85-6 of The Preface].

Conspectus of the Commentary

The commentary embraces a wider range of contemporaneous material, selected to locate the importance of this particular play in Seneca's reputation, than has appeared in previous publications in Senecan scholarship. The circumstances surounding Seneca's resurgence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been explored with reference to neglected contemporaneous educational matter such as lexicas and grammars, doctrinal treatises, philosophical essays, and literary and

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[19]Heywood, (ed. J.Daalder :1982), op.cit.: Appendix discusses printed editions of Seneca.

dramatic criticism across the period. Central criteria for determining Senecan influence are the parallels between Seneca's *Thyestes* and Wright's undervalued *MT*; the currency of the themes of tyranny, kingship and revenge; instances, in neo-Latin and the vernacular drama, of the remodelling of the Senecan motifs of the cannibalistic feast, violence, the retired life, marital infidelity, the ghost and the Messenger; and, examples, in prose publications and the drama, where Senecan lines have been cited in Latin locating key instances where playwrights have used the *Thyestes* in translation. The variety of dramatists and plays consulted is wider than in other scholarly works. Leading named dramatists of the vernacular are Thomas Hughes, George Chapman, John Marston, Richard Wilmot, Ben Jonson, Cyril Tourneur, Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, Elizabeth Cary and in Scotland, George Buchanan; of neo-Latin drama are William Alabaster, William Goldingham and Matthew Gwinne. Citations from the plays of Shakespeare have been limited to lines and passages of particular resonance in thematic context and as evidence of a Senecanising influence in their own right, with attention restricted to passing references to *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, *3 Henry VI* and *Richard III*. Useful thematic comparisons with writers contemporary to Wright such as William Wycherley and George Etherege are included, with particular consideration of Wycherley's third and most popular play, *The Country Wife*. The examples offered by these playwrights of the comedy of manners reflect the ambiguity surrounding 'morality' after the demise of the Puritan regime. Thus, the vanity, hypocrisy and infidelity of the male and female characters depict the desire of Restoration comic dramatists to dispel the moral and social codes of a previous age.

The discussion of the neo-Latin texts does not develop new ideas, but the originality lies in the breadth of texts utilised and their integration into the

analysis of early modern drama alongside vernacular plays. The cross-references which appear in the commentary serve, not as an index, but as a helpful pointer to the reader for further examples of certain themes and motifs. A conscious effort has been made not to encroach upon Daalder's territory and thus, the thesis retreats from devoting time to explaining the totality of Heywood's translation. This in turn means that I have principally supplied a commentary on the Restoration burlesque in order to illuminate Heywood's translation. The commentary includes consideration of a number of contemporaneous translations of Seneca's tragedies, including a detailed account of the commonly disregarded versions of the second Chorus of the *Thyestes* by Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Matthew Hale, Abraham Cowley and Andrew Marvell.

The 1584 Gryphius edition of Seneca's *Thyestes* , the 1560 edition of Heywood's translation and Wright's Restoration translation with burlesque (1674) have been reproduced in Volume I, with the status of an Appendix and for the convenience of the reader. (See Introduction to the Texts for details of transcription). This is the first time that these texts have been brought together for comparison and discussion.

The commentary (Volume II) takes the form of a critical discussion of the Elizabethan *Thyestes*. It does not aim to duplicate Tarrant's line-by-line treatment of the Latin original (1985) but is a discursive treatment of *Thyestes* ' transmission, focusing on key lines of the translated text. The thesis is intended as an aid to those interested in cultural transmission and as a supplement to Daalder's edition of Heywood's edition of Heywood's text (1982).

THE COMMENTARY

PREPARATORY MATTER

1-24 [The Epistle[20]]

Jasper Heywood reveals that he is sending his *little booke* (l.15) to John Mason as an expression of his gratitude for his patronage.

To the right honorable syr/ John Mason:

The details of the addressee given by Heywood in the lines of the address reveal that John Mason (1503-66) was a member of the Queen's Privy Council (commissioned in 1543). He was the Chancellor of the University of Oxford when Heywood dedicated *Thyestes* to him (1560). Heywood was affiliated to All Soul's College (see title-page), the college of which Mason had himself been a fellow (elected November 1558). Heywood dedicated his *Hercules Furens* to another member of the Queen's Privy Council- Sir William Herbert (1501?-70).[21] The choice of dedicatee for *Hercules Furens* may have been determined by Herbert's political position and his association with literary circles- in particular the circle founded by Herbert's wife, the Countess of Pembroke, which placed a particular emphasis on the revival of Senecan drama. In the first fifteen years of Elizabeth I's reign the majority of books were dedicated to members of the Queen's Privy Council or to a leading noble- there are five recorded dedications to The Duke of Norfolk, his son, his Uncle and Sir

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[20]ibid.: offers a detailed commentary on the *Epistle* , *The translatour to the book* and *The Preface.*

[21]Heywood, J., (1561), *The first tragedie of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, entituled Hercules Furens* (London).

George Howard; there are sixteen recorded dedications to Leicester and those associated with him.[22] The benevolent citations of the names of socially and politically significant figures reveal that they publicly endorsed, and sometimes acted as patrons for, the activities of the translators.[23]

[for further reference to John Mason see ll.1-56 The translatour to the booke].

1-56 The translatour to the booke.

Heywood employs the form of an address to a volume of his own work in order to express his reverence for a *wight of honour* (l.1)- the dedicatee Sir John Mason. These lines express an apology for any discomfort that his volume may cause its recipient (l.27ff.).

[for reference to John Mason see Epistle :ll.1-24].

1-684 The preface

In the *Preface* Heywood highlights the popularity of Seneca in contemporaneous society. He reveals that the art of translation was a common exercise. [references to translations and translators: ll.85-6; 97; 177-80; 197-8; 201-4]. The texts which Heywood cites may indicate reading material which he thought would complement his reader's understanding of *Thyestes* or it may reveal those texts that Heywood himself had used to aid him in making the translation [see ll.189-92; 193-6; 197-8; 201-4; 613-7]. Together with the texts, Heywood offers an extended

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[22]Conley, C.H., (1927), *The First English Translators of the Classics* (New Haven) presents a table offering details of the dedicatees of the published works in the first fifteen years of Elizabeth I's reign.

[23]ibid.: pp.38ff. discusses the significance of those chosen as patrons for translations; pp.44ff. for an account of the reasons why leading noblemen showed an interest in translation.

list of writers- thus, indicating how *Thyestes* was to have an educative function. [24]

1-3 It was the fowre and twentith daie/ of latest monthe saue one/ Of all the yere:

Heywood began the task of translating *Thyestes* on 24th November, 1559.

[further detail of the date of composition: ll.19-20].

19-20 And Venus from the skyes aboue/ on fryday fowle to frowne:

Heywood notes that he began his translations on a Friday. The disquieting nature of the alliteration (*Venus* may have been pronounced *Fenus* in this period) exploits the traditional association of Venus with Friday, a day of disaster; and mirrors Heywood's fondness for the poetic device of alliteration, which he displays in his addition to the tragedy (fourth scene). [see ll.1884-2007 of the text].

29-33 Then dreamde I thus, that by my syde/ me thought I sawe one stande/ That downe to grounde in scarlet gowne/ was dight, and in his hande/ A booke he bare:

Heywood says that he was prompted to embark upon his translation of *Thyestes* by the appearance of Seneca to him in a dream. Heywood presents an account of the nature of Seneca's outward appearance- he details that the figure of the old man was wearing a scarlet gown and a garland of bay leaves, and holding a book. The indications of his physical being reveal his benevolence:

His eyes like Christall shiende: his breathe

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[24]see Stephen, op.cit.

full sweete, his face full fyne (ll.37-8).

In early modern texts one finds writers recording similar examples of apparitions. Dante in Canto One of *The Inferno* describes his meeting with the spirit of Vergil on Good Friday 1300 (composition started c.1306/8 and it probably took the following twenty five years to complete).[25]The setting for this Canto is a wood, in which Dante finds himself lost. He roams in the dawn light and finds himself confronted by the leopard of passionate longing, the lion of pride and the shewolf of greed. In flight, he encounters the spirit of Vergil:

While I was falling down into a low place, before
my eyes one had offered himself to me who through
long silence seemed hoarse.
When I saw him in the great wilderness, 'Miserere
- on me', I cried to him,'whatever you may be,
whether shade or true man!'
He replied: 'Not a man, I was formerly a man,
and my parents were Lombards, Mantuans both by
birth.
I was born sub Iulio, though it was late, and I
lived in Rome under the good Augustus in the time
of the false and lying gods.
I was a poet, and I sang of the just son of
Anchises who came from Troy, when proud Ilion
was destroyed by fire.
But you, why do you return to so much suffering?
Why do you not climb the delightful mountain that is
origin and cause of all joy?'

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[25]ed. used, Durling, R.L., (1996), *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Volume I: The Inferno* (Oxford).

'Now are you that Virgil, that fountain which
spreads forth so broad a mier of speech?' I replied
with shamefast brow.
'O horror and light of the other poets, let my long
study and great love avail me, that has caused me to
search through your volume.
You are my master and my author, you alone are
he from whom I have taken the pleasing style that
has won me honour (ll.61-87):

The account focuses on Vergil as a historical and poetical figure. The reference to the spirit's hoarseness could be interpreted as a suggestion that the works of Vergil have been neglected by Dante's contemporaries or it could serve to emphasise that the poet is merely a soul. There are scant biographical details in the description. Dante refers to Vergil's birth at Andes, near Mantua in 70 B.C.. It is interesting to note that even though Julius Caesar was not in power at the time of Vergil's birth, that Dante asserts this connection in order to associate the great poet of the Roman Empire with its leading political figure.

Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, also employs this poetic trope as an expression of the source of his inspiration in his Prologue to Book Thirteen of his version, in Scottish verse, of Vergil's *Aeneid* (1553).[26] The similarities between this account and Heywood's decription of his meeting with Seneca suggest that the typical form for describing a poet was related to the visuals. Douglas describes that in his dream he conversed with Mapheus Vegius and that he promised, with his right hand held high, to translate the poet's work (ll.150ff.). He, like Heywood, offers details of the spirit's physical appearance, with close attention to the garland and robes:

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[26]ed. used, Coldwell, D.F.C., (1960), *Virgil's Aeneid: translated by Gavin Douglas, volume 4* (Edinburgh).

And weill persavit that hys weid was strange,

Tharto so ald, that it had not beyn change,

Be my consait, fully that fourty zeir,

For it was threidbair into placis seir;

Syde was this habyt, round, and closyng meit,

That strekit to the grund doun our his feit;

And on his hed a lawrer tre a crown (ll.81-8).

49 Spayne was (quoth he) my natiue soyle:

The figure of Seneca relates to Heywood that he is of Spanish origin. Much of the biographical information would have been available to Heywood from the Gryphius edition of Seneca, which Heywood probably consulted. In the section *L.Annaei Senecae Vita, Ex libro Tertio Petri Crininti De Pretis Latinis* (not included in the transcription) in Gryphius' edition of Seneca it is noted that Seneca is from Corduba in Spain:

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, natione Hispanus, patria Cordubensis fuit (page 3).

69-71 Arte thou the same, that whilom dydst/ thy Tragedies endight/ With woondrous wit and regall stile?:

Heywood's praise of Seneca's poetic style is echoed by other writers in the early modern period [see also ll.79-81]. The Gryphius edition of Seneca's text comments on the elevation and loftiness of Seneca's verse in the section *L.Annaei Senecae Vita, Ex libro Tertio Petri Crininti De Pretis Latinis* :

Scripsit Tragoedias decem, in quibus propter sublimitatem carminis, gravitatemque; sententiarum, non vulgare laudem consecutus est (page 3).

79-81 The woorks I wrote shall still preserue/ my name in memorie/ From age to age:

These lines reveal Seneca's personal desire for a Senecan tradition to be established. It seems appropriate at this point to make a distinction between Seneca as a poetic creation and as a historical figure. As the discussion progresses, we will see that the Elizabethans defined Seneca largely in terms of his tragic style, and thus reduced him to a series of criteria which served as a suitable model for imitation.

The compositions, whether literary handbooks or dramatic texts, allow us to estimate the regard with which Seneca was held in England [see also ll.69-71]. William Webbes' essay on the formation of English poetry, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), contains references to Seneca in the section where Webbe investigates the first Latin writers of tragedy.[27] On page 31, Webbe calls Seneca*a most excellent wryter of Tragedies*. Meres in his comparative discourse from *Palladis Tamia* (1598) states his belief that Seneca and Plautus are counted as the best for tragedy and comedy amongst the Latins.[28] This view prompts us to recollect the lines by which Shakespeare expressed the height of Roman influence on contemporaneous drama. Polonius' declaration of praise for the players at Elsinore suggests that Elizabethan drama flourished under the particular guidance of Seneca and Plautus (*Hamlet* first appeared in print in a quarto edition of 1603):

The best actors in the world, either for

tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-

comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical,

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[27]Webbe, [1586], *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London), reprinted in Haslewood (ed.1815) *Ancient Critical essays upon English Poets and Poesy: Volume 2.*

[28]Meres, (1589), *A comparative discourse of our English poets, with the Greeke, Latine and Italian Poets: from Palladis Tamia* (London): p.152.

tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene in-
dividable, or poem unlimited: Seneca cannot
be too heavy, nor Plautus too light. For the
law of writ and the liberty, these are the only
men (*Hamlet* II,ii,ll.414-421).

One should not disregard Meres' comments for they are the result of extensive reading, and reveal strong critical judgement.

Seneca's name appears in a canon of great names in Robert Whitinton's Latin grammar *Grammaticae prima pars Roberti Whitintoni: Verborum praeterita* (1532).[29] In the section entitled *Heroti claron biron atali quod (r)upedu epitheta,* he is listed alongside Tarquinius, the first King of Rome, and Catullus, the Roman poet. The reverence for Seneca in this period is revealed in Webbe's address to R.W in 1592 edition of *Tancred and Gismund* where the name of Seneca is used as a frame of reference.[30] At lines 23ff. Webbe uses the name of the Roman dramatist to endorse popular opinion concerning the quality of the play, in particular its *stateliness of shew, depth of conceit* (l. 25) and *true ornaments of a poeticall arte* (ll. 25-6).

The similarities between Seneca and the plays of the English Renaissance reveal how Seneca helped both to form popular English tragedy, and that Seneca fitted into the established form. Scholars have attempted to argue that Seneca exercised a formative influence- in Cunliffe (1893) one finds an account of the ways in which Seneca influenced plays such as *Gorboduc* (acted 1561-2), the first recorded English Senecan tragedy.[31] Cunliffe lists the sensational themes of murder

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[29]Whitinton, R., (1532), *Grammaticae prima pars....* (Pynson).
[30]R.W., (1591-2), *The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund. Newly reuiued and polished according to the decorum of these daies.* (London).
[31]Cunliffe, [1893] , op.cit.: pp.32ff. discusses the influence of Seneca on external form. Norton and Sackville (1561) *Gorboduc* (London).

and revenge, the formal aspect of the five act structure, the use of stock characters, the pervasive hue of Stoicism as evidence of Senecan influence [for theme of revenge see text ll.295-618 and 1478-1883; for stock character of ghost see text ll.1-240; for stock character of Messenger see text ll.1050-1381]. One should contemplate that the five-act structure may have arisen from knowledge of the comic playwright Terence- however, it is hard to make a case for Terence as the sole formative influence on this structural aspect.

It seems probable that the playwrights of the Elizabethan period found in Seneca a dramatist that complemented their concept of tragedy . John Greene's account of contemporary tragedy in his essay entitled *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors* (1615) reveals that Seneca would fit neatly into the pattern.[32] The definition of tragedy on pages 55-6 embraces many of the central issues with which Seneca's tragedies, including the *Thyestes*, are concerned:

The matter of tragedies is haughtinesse, arrogancy, ambition, pride, injury, anger, wrath, envy, hatred, contention, warre, murther, cruelty, rapine, incest, rovings, depradations, piracyes, spoyles, roberies, rebellions, treasons, killing, hewing, stabbing, dagger-drawing, fighting, butchery, trechery, villainy, etc, and all kinds of heroyick evils whatsoever.

The definition emphasises the gruesome aspect of tragedy. One should note that Greene offers this definition in his attempt to reveal his personal disapproval of the theatre. Seneca's affiliation with contemporary theatre is furthered by Greene's comment that M.Actor claims Seneca as his Muse- thus, he is asserting that the aspects of contemporary tragedy that he despises are prompted by knowledge of Seneca, the dramatist. Page one

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32 Greene, (1615), *A Refutation of the Apology for Actors (by Thomas Heywood). Divided into three brief treatises. Wherein is confuted all chief grounds and arguments alleaged in defence of plays* (London).

suggests that the term M. Actor could refer to the author (Thomas Heywood) of *An Apologie for Actors* or, more generally, to any individual who defends the excess that characterised contemporary plays.

It is interesting to note that Greene appears to regard Seneca, the dramatist as a different individual from the writer of the philosophical works, for on pages six to seven he cites Seneca's *Epistles* in order to validate his belief that the theatre can produce disorder in its viewers. He comments that Seneca declared in the first Epistle of the third book that such spectacles produce unrest and chaos.

A striking similarity is noticeable between the characters that populate the English Renaissance stage and those that speak in Seneca's plays, especially the *Thyestes*. This is illustrated by the description of the content of contemporary tragedy that is given in *A Warning for Faire Women* (1559).[33] The lines depict the stock characters of the tyrant, the Chorus and the ghost:

How some damn'd tyrant to obtain a crown
Stabs, hangs, impoisons, smothers, cutteth throats:
And then to a Chorus, too, comes howling in
And tells us of the worrying of a cat:
Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
Lapt in some foul sheet, or a leather pilch,
Comes screaming like a pig half stick'd,
And cries, Vindicta!- Revenge, Revenge![34]

The presence of Seneca can be seen continually in the neo-Latin plays of the Renaissance. One should consult the neo-Latin drama of the period because it represents a relatively neglected aspect of Senecan influence. *Nero* (1603) and *Roxana* (acted 1591-2, revised and published 1632) contain

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[33]Anon, (1599), *AWarning for Faire Women* .
[34]cited by Cunliffe, (1912), *Early English Tragedies* (Oxford): p. xcii.

the Senecan elements of the vengeful ghost, the passages of stichomythia, the sections pervaded with a Stoic hue, the profusion of stage horrors and the copiousness of *sententiae* [for ghost in *Nero* see text ll.1-240; for horrors in *Roxana* see text ll.1322-4]. Goldingham's *Herodes* (c. 1570/1580, no record of performance at Cambridge) has a distinctive Senecan tone. The story, like that of the *Thyestes* , is one of personal vengeance [see text ll.299-300]. It is notable that the play has a distinctive Christian background- this can be seen in the Chorus division at the close of the fourth act. Snelling's *Thibaldus* (1640; no evidence to suggest that the play was ever performed) is coloured with Senecan pathos and rhetoric.

The popularity of Seneca in the Renaissance can be estimated by evaluating those instances where borrowings were made from his works. In Gwinne's *Nero* Seneca's prose and dramatic works are quoted repeatedly alongside quotations from Lucan, Martial and Tacitus.[35] The title page and the dedication to Egerton and Leigh make clear that the play is based on classical sources. In the dedication (ll. 41-3) Gwinne remarks:

Pro me loquantur Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion, Seneca: na & loquuntur ipsi fere omnia: ego tantummodo modos feci.

Sandsbury in the address to Justus Lipsius acknowledges the debt that Gwinne as a contemporaneous dramatist owes to the Roman playwright by commenting that Gwinne's *Nero* is to replace Seneca's *Octavia*. It is interesting to note that scholars at this time believed that Seneca was the author of *Octavia* - thus, apparantly unaware that for chronological reasons this cannot be the case. There are references to works such as *De Clementia*, *Octavia*, *Thebais* and the *Epistles*. The *Epistles* are referred to more frequently than any other Senecan text. These connections represent

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[35]Gwinne, M., [1603], *Nero* ed. Leidig, Heinz-Dieter (N.Y., 1983).

no more than brief allusions to the Senecan texts- this in turn reveals a degree of familiarity with his sources that he can take for granted on the part of his academic audience. Gwinne does not fail to note his authorities in the margin- his marginalia though, do not reveal the full extent of his indebtedness to the ancient historians. Seneca appears as a character in the play- he is depicted as an influential figure in the formation of Nero's behaviour towards his mother. It is interesting to note that Seneca does not only speak his own lines but also those of Tacitus, Lucan, Martial and Gwinne himself.[36] Gwinne does not place allusions to the Senecan plays in the mouth of Seneca but confines his citations to the *Epistles* and the philosophical essays *De Clementia* and *De Tranquillitate*.

The Senecan lines that are quoted in the plays demonstrate the immediate recognisability and resonance of the Roman dramatist. The nature with which these lines are utilised by different playwrights in different works reveals the plasticity for the Renaissance of the Senecan text. The most popular line for quotation appears to be from *Agamemnon* l. 116:[37]

per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter.

This *sententia* on the nature of crime appears literally or with slight variation in, for example, Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589; printed without date in 1592) (III.13.1.6), Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587, first performed 1588) (1.2.11.1-6) and Marston's *The*

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[36]'Seneca' at lines 2816, 2822, 4220, 4227 alludes to lines from *De Tranquillitate*; at line 2868 from *De Clementia* ; at lines 3454, 3468, 3469, 3506, 3502, 3542 from *Epistles* ; from Tacitus at lines 2807, 2913, 3450, 4099; Lucan at 4129; Erasmus at line 4223.

[37]all refs. taken from Loeb *Seneca in nine volumes : Moral Essays, Vols. I-III* (ed. Basore J.W., London, 1928) *Tragedies, Vols. VIII and IX* (ed.Miller F.J., London, 1917).

Malcontent (1604, first Blackfriars performance must have taken place c.1602) (5.3.11.16-7) [further reference to this line in text ll.1044-5].[38]

The education that these playwrights received would have influenced the form and content of their compositions, and thus it is worth considering the nature of the humanist educational programme for the presence of Seneca. However, it is difficult to determine the extent of this influence on individual dramatists unless they have formerly acknowledged their debt. [see reference to Gwinne's *Nero* in this section]. From the very beginning of the European Renaissance, the suitability of Seneca as an educational source for the young is attested in the writings of scholars such as Erasmus. Erasmus cited Seneca alongside Plutarch's *Apopthegmata* and *Moralia* as a means by which the young could be introduced to the writers of the classical world. His letter to Thomas Ruthall suggests that the moral values that Seneca extolled in his compositions served as the main attraction for Erasmus.[39] This suggests that Erasmus believed that ancient writers could provide man with moral lessons even though they had written without knowledge of the word of God. Thomas Wyatt in 1537 advised his son to consult moral philosophers such as Seneca.[40] Thomas Lupset in his *Exhortation to Yonge Men* (1535) tells his pupils to pay particular attention to the works of the Roman philosopher Seneca:

Specially rede with diligence the workes of Seneca: of whom ye shall lerne as moche of vertue as mans wit can teche you.[41]

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[38]eds. used: for *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Gorboduc* McIlwrath, (1950), *Five Elizabethan Tragedies*; for *The Misfortunes of Arthur* Cunliffe (1912) *Early English Classical Tragedies*; for *The Malcontent* Jackson and Neill (eds. 1986) *The Selected Plays of John Marston.*

[39]cf. A.H.T.Levi's essay 'Erasmus, the early Jesuits and the classics' in Bolgar, R.R., (ed. 1976), *Classical influences on European culture A.D. 1500-1700* (Cambridge):pp. 231-2.

[40]Muir, K.,(1963), *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool):p.43.

[41]Gee, J.A.,(1928), *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, with critical text of the original treatises and letters* (New Haven):p.245.

The references to lines from Seneca in the educational lexica and grammar books reveal both an appreciation of Seneca as a moral teacher and an awareness of the quality of Seneca's Latin. There appear to be two categories of texts for study: (i) general guides such as treatises on linguistics, grammar and rhetoric, and (ii) the texts of particular authors that were to be studied line by line. One should consider Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570) because it is concerned with the private education of children prior to their attending University.[42] This composition reveals that the inspiration for Ascham's educational programme is almost wholly classical and shows that Seneca is one of the most influential authorities. The work offers comment on Seneca's Latin under the heading *Imitatio*. This section becomes more than a grammarian's guide- it becomes a critical treatise and a manual of literary craftmanship. Ascham describes a method for analysing various examples of imitation, where one sees Ascham articulating his opinions on the literary strengths and weaknesses of a number of classical authors. On page 47, under the discussion of the second kind of imitation, Seneca is listed as one of the best authors by which one can learn *of tongues and sciences*. He is listed amongst a prestigious intellectual stream of names- for example, Cicero, Sallust and Caesar. On page 52, Seneca receives praise for his *elocutio* but only after he has been compared to Sophocles and Euripides. However, one should note that Ascham favours the Athenians for he comments that they *far outmatch our Seneca in Latin*. Ascham's concern with the superiority of the Greeks over Seneca was not a view commonly held.[43]

The manner in which Seneca is utilised in the treatises on linguistics, grammar and rhetoric suggests that his texts should be studied line by line.

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[42]Ascham, R.,(1570), *The Scholemaster* (London).
[43]Cunliffe, [1893], op. cit., pp.10ff. contrasts Webbe's more typical viewpoint.

In Lilly's grammar *Brevissima institutio seu ratio grammatices: cognoscendae, ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praeferipta, quam folam Regia Maiestas in omnibus Scholis profitendam praecipit* (1597) Seneca is quoted alongside Latin authors such as Ovid, Terence and Virgil.[44] Seneca and Terence are cited to illustrate the principle of *Pronominum constructio: modus actionis*:

Constat parvo fames, magno fastidium (sic) [sig Fvr.].

The line expressing the inexpensiveness of hunger is taken from Seneca's *Epistles* 17.4., a letter on philosophy and riches. One finds Seneca quoted under the sub heading *Impersonalium constructio. Accusativus* alongside Vergil and Ovid. The Senecan lines draw in part on the *Epistles* 34.1., a letter concerning the promising pupil :

Agricolam arbor ad frugem producta, delectat. Nemo miserorum commiserescit. Te non pudet istud? Non te haec pudent? (sic) (sig. Hiiijr).

Seneca, Ovid and Juvenal are utilised to illustrate *Concordantia sub: stantivi and adictivi*. Lilly employs lines 650-2 of Seneca's *Octavia* where Octavia expresses the weight of the burden that her heart has borne:

Non hoc primum pectora vulnus mea senserunt: graviora tuli. (sig. [Fviir]).

The final example in Lilly's grammar of the use of Seneca is taken from *Naturales Quaestiones* 4a. pr. 1.ll. 5-6. and appears under the heading *Adiectivorum constructio: dativvs*:

Alienus ambitioni (sic) (sig. [Gi.v]).

Ralph Johnson, Schoolmaster refers to lines from Seneca's *Medea* in his *The Scholars guide from the accidence to the University or, short, plain, and easie rules for performing all manner of exercise in the grammar rules* (1665).[45] The references to lines from the play are found under the

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[44]Lilly, W., (1597), *Brevissima institutio....* (London).
[45]Johnson, R., (ed.1665), *Scholars guide...* (London).

heading of *Poeticall exercises* as an example of *Carmen*, *Epithalamium* and *Dirae*. *Medea* (56) is used to illustrate *Epithalamium* together with figures such as Martial 4.13. *Medea* (20.531) is utilised as an example of *Dirae* alongside, for example, Horatio *Epodes* (10). In this guide Seneca's *Medea* is cited as an illustration of how an author can express a passion with eloquence- the reference is to lines 1017-8.

Library catalogues of individuals and educational institutions attest to the popularity of Seneca as a philosopher and dramatist.[46] The catalogue of the library of the celebrated alchemist and mathematician John Dee (1527-1608) shows that he possessed texts of Senecan works. Inventories reveal that William Framyngham (d. 1537), a fellow of Queen's College Cambridge, owned an edition of *Opera Seneca*. The will of John English (d.1613) reveals that he bequethed *Senecae Epistol*, *Flores Senecae* and *Seneca de benef Anglice*. Inventories show that the Scottish poet Drummond of Hawthornden (d.1649) owned a copy of *Natural Quaestiones* and that John Morris (d. 1658) owned an edition of *De Clementia*. The research (1534-43) of John Leland (c.1502-52) revealed that there were thirty one titles in the University library of Duke Humfrey, numbered amongst which were the tragedies of Seneca.[47] One should note that the collections of college libraries do not reflect a true picture of those books that were commonly owned by private individuals, or of those books that were generally used as textbooks within the University curriculum.

Any discussion of the Senecan movement in England leads one to question whether the tradition was native or the result of the influence of

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[46]passim, for John Dee, William Framyngham, John English, Drummond of Hawthorden, John Morris refer to Monsarrat, op.cit..

[47]cf. the catalogue for *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in 15th century: Catalogue of an exhibition in the Bodleian library*, and *Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School 1488-1988: Bodleian Library, Oxford: An Exhibition at the Bodleian Library* (1970).

the Continent, in particular that of Italy. Italy would seem a natural choice, given its cultural status as the springboard of Renaissance humanism. The book collections of figures such as John Florio reveal that Italian plays were available in England- his collection included works by Cinthio, Bandello and Ariosto.[48] It should be noted that Cinthio was responsible for shaping the Italian drama of this period and was probably the best known Italian playwright outside his native country. Cinthio followed the classical playwrights and fashioned plays such as his *Orbecche* on a Senecan pattern. There were translations of Italian plays by University men.[49] The first known translation of an Italian play to appear at an English University is Abraham Fraunce's Latin play *Victoria* (c.1579)- the Italian source for which was Luigi Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*. Thomas Tomkis' *Albumazar* (presented at Cambridge in 1615) represents the only known university play to be a translation of Giambattista's della Porta's *Lo Astrologo* (1606). These illustrations reveal the presence of Italian drama during the period under discussion but the extent of Italian influence, Senecan or otherwise, is harder to determine. The neo-Latin university play *Roxana* (performed at Trinity College 1591-2) by William Alabaster and *Gismond of Salerne* (1567) reveal a minimal degree of Italian influence. [50] The basis for a relationship between *Gismond of Salerne* and Italian tragedy rests tentatively on the evidence of a few lines of its prologue. Alabaster's play may be directly indebted to its source, Luigi Groto's *La Dalida* , in storyline but the playwright did choose to enhance

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[48]Orr, D.,(1970), *Italian Renaissance drama in England before 1625: the influence of erudita tragedy, comedy and pastoral on Elizabethan and Jacobean drama* (Chapel Hill, N.C.): p.11 discusses Florio's collection and refers the reader to R.C.Simonini *Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England* (1952).

[49]ibid.:pp.4ff. explores the relationship between English university men and Italy, with particular attention to Abraham Fraunce.

[50]ibid.:pp. 61ff. notes the source of Alabster's play and discusses the differences between *Roxana* and *La Dalida* .

his source by altering its length- he achieved his objective, for example, by discarding the Italian prologue. One should be careful not to exaggerate the degree of Italian influence on English drama- for plays such as *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) and *Locrine* do not reveal any Italian influence.

The English and Italian Senecans appear very similar- the dramatists of both countries shared the view that plays were to be acted; both explored the capacity for the sensational. Charlton offers an account of the differences between French and Italian Senecan plays in order to reveal the similarity between the Italian and English Senecan dramas- he states that the French lacked the Italian and English flare for the dramatic and the gruesome.[51] The French Senecan tradition can be seen to exert a level of influence, however minimal, on the Scottish stage- for example, Sir William Alexander's *Four Monarchic Tragedies* (1604) preserves the conventions of the French Senecan tradition. William Alexander is the only Scottish dramatic writing available in the early modern period apart from Buchanan's Latin *Baptistes* (1577) and *Jepthes* (1554).

A shared familiarity with the works of Seneca and the intellectual fashion for reviving elements of his dramatic style may account for the similarities in the development of revenge tragedy in England, France and Italy.

85-6 And make me speake in straunger speeche/ and sette my woorks to sight:

There was a significant interest in translating the texts of Seneca in the period 1558-72. Jasper Heywood translated *Troas* (1559), *Thyestes* (1560) and *Hercules Furens* (1561). Alexander Neville translated *Oedipus* in

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[51]Charlton, op.cit.: pp. cxx-cxxxviii, on the dramatic unities and plot structure.

1563, John Studley rendered *Agamemnon* and *Medea* into English in 1566, and Thomas Nuce translated *Octavia* (date unknown). One should consider the translations of Seneca that were made by female figures such as Elizabeth I and Elizabeth Cary (1585/6-1639) in order to present a balanced picture of Seneca's appeal. One should read the products of female translation differently to those of their male counterparts for they reveal the liberties that the humanist society afforded to women. [52] The literary activity of these females does not reflect the intellectual climate available to their gender- education of women was limited and was determined by wealth. Seneca was regarded as suitable reading material for women because his writings emphasised the path to equanimity of the soul, and stressed the importance of the virtue of passivity. [53] Thus, they allowed women access to a heroic ideal that was in keeping with their social standing. Romances and works that were concerned with the ideal of love were considered to be improper reading material because they threatened to pollute the minds of young women. Elizabeth Cary may have chosen to render the *Epistles* (translation made by the time Cary was eighteen) into English because as a male-authored work it made her less open to criticism for the words were not hers alone but those from the works of the Roman author.

One should attempt to establish the printed editions of Seneca's texts that Heywood may have consulted because it may reveal reasons for Heywood's method of translation. The details of the order of the plays given on the title pages shows that he followed texts that were dependent

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[52]cf. Krontiris, T., (1992), *Oppositional voices: women as writers and translators of literature in the English Renaissance* (London): pp. 80ff.
[53]ibid.: pp.13ff. for reading concerned suitable for women. Lamb, M., (1990), *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney circle* (Madison, Wis.):p. 127 for Stoic emphasis on passive endurance.

upon the A-tradition of manuscripts.[54] The A-tradition follows the pattern of *Hercules Furens* , *Thyestes* , *Thebais* , *Hippolytus*, *Oedipus*, *Troades*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Octavia* and *Hercules Oetaeus*. Heywood labels the *Hercules Furens* as *the first tragedie of Seneca* (1561), *Thyestes* as *the seconde tragedie* (1560), and *Troas* as *the sixth tragedie of Seneca* (1559).

It is difficult to discover the quantity of manuscripts or printed editions of Seneca's tragedies that were obtainable in England during the period in which Heywood undertook his translations.[55] Heywood had read for his Bachelors and Masters degrees at Oxford and it may be worth considering the holdings of the college libraries, though these are of limited use in establishing what books individual scholars had access to. Henry Coxe's catalogue (1852) reports that written copies of the tragedies were held by both of the colleges that Heywood had attended- Merton and All Souls.[56] 1593 marks the earliest date at which a printed copy of Seneca's text was present in the Bodleian library. The first publication in England of the tragedies of Seneca was made in 1589 when Thomas Man and Thomas Gubbin printed an edition of the Gryphius text. Editions of Senecan texts were available at an earlier date at Cambridge. The library holdings cite the 1505 edition of the ten tragedies produced by Marmita and Gaietanus (Venice), the 1512 edition of Ascensius (Paris) and the 1554 edition of Gryphius (Lyons). [57]

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[54]see Philp, (1968), 'Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's Tragedies' in *Classical Quarterly, N.S. XVIII.*

[55]O'Keefe, op.cit.: pp. 45-6 for the European publication history of Seneca's texts.

[56]for Merton College see Coxe, H.,(1852), *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* (Oxford). For All Souls see Coxe, H.,(1842), *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the library of All Souls College* (Oxford).

[57]O'Keefe, op. cit. p.47 for texts held at Cambridge.

Heywood offers some information in the preface to *Thyestes* concerning the texts that he may have consulted. The texts of Gryphius, Colineus and Aldus are listed [see ll.613-7] . These details do not help one to determine the text that Heywood utilised. De Vocht suggests that Heywood may have utilised the Marmita edition (1492), the edition of Marmita with corrections by Erasmus printed by Ascensius (1512, 1513, 1514 and 1519), and the edition printed by Henricus Petrus (1529).[58] De Vocht's research displays a lack of close attention to the Gryphius edition. The conflict is greater between the Gryphius text and the other printed editions than between the Gryphius text and the Heywood translation. Comparisons of the various editions lead one to feel that the central source for Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* was Gryphius' text.[59] This conclusion is based primarily on formal aspects of the translation, such as the similarity with the Gryphius text in the use of punctuation. This text would seem a natural choice for its publication history reveals that it was highly popular- first published in 1536 and reprinted numerous times. The clear presentation of the printed text and the absence of explanatory notes may have accounted for its renown. One should note that the Gryphius text was used for the first English printing in 1589 of Seneca's tragedies.

Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* is more faithful than his translation of *Hercules Furens* . However, there are places where Heywood alters the meaning of Seneca's text- either by failing to render Seneca's Latin exactly or by developing certain Senecan ideas. The alterations, in translation, to the Gryphius text can often be explained by reference to various Renaissance editions- mainly the Ascensius and

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[58]cf. De Vocht, H.,(1913), *Jasper Heywood and his translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes, and Hercules Furens, 1559, 1560, and 1561* (reprint Austria 1963): Introduction, p. XXV.

[59]Daalder, op.cit. passim. notes significant Gryphius readings.

Marmita editions. The only addition to the text that cannot be explained by reference to contemporary editions of Seneca's tragedies is the final soliloquy [see text ll.1884-2007].

It is interesting to note that the publication of Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* occurred in the same year that there is a recorded production of the play. Heywood's text was used for the performance. The performance was a domestic production and thus, as a performance authorised by one individual for private production, it is not conclusive for the argument of the *Thyestes'* popularity. The records for the years 1558-1642 show that the productions of Seneca were largely closet productions- eleven out of a total of eighteen productions.[60] Heywood's translations were used for the 1559 closet production of *Troas* and the 1561 closet production of *Hercules Furens*. Thus, the records for the years 1558-1642 attest to the actability of Heywood's translations. It is interesting to note that twelve of the eighteen recorded productions of Seneca in these years were in translation; and one cannot dismiss the fact that there may have been performances in this era that have gone unrecorded. There is little information on the nature of performances of Seneca in the original or in translation. Account books for colleges such as Trinity College, Cambridge, do reveal that the performances of Senecan plays were relatively expensive to produce- for example, the production of *Oedipus* (in Latin) in 1559-60 cost one pound thirteen shillings and four pence.[61]

It is certain that the publication of Heywood's translation of the *Thyestes* (1560) may have helped to establish Seneca as a popular Latin author. The Senecan play *Gorboduc* (1561) was published a year after the publication of this edition. However, it is more difficult to determine the

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[60]Kawachi, op.cit..

[61]cf. Smith, (1978), Toward the rediscovery of tragedy: productions of Seneca's plays on the English Renaissance stage. *Renaissance Drama IX* : pp. 17-8 for other examples.

role that Heywood's translation may have played in securing the currency of the *Thyestes* , both as a text and as a legend. The publication of Wright's *Mock- Thyestes* (1674) suggests that the playwright could rely on his audience possessing an adequate knowledge of the story, since unfamiliarity with the legend surrounding the house of Atreus would have resulted in a failure to appreciate the humour of his composition.

The currency of Seneca's *Thyestes* is revealed by the number of quotations from the text that appear in plays such as *Antonio and Mellida* (1599) and *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) [for the former see text l.1528; for the latter see text ll.26-9, 333-5, 868-70].[62] *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) contains twenty five instances of Hughes producing his own translation of certain lines from the *Thyestes* [see text ll.93-5, 327-9, 349-51, 353-7, 361-8, 369-73, 443-51, 455-6].[63] *Antonio and Mellida* includes five examples of Marston's attempt at translating. In *Antonio's Revenge* there are seven instances of direct translation [see ll.371-3 for an example]. The lines from the *Thyestes* that were chosen for translation reveal that there were certain general trends in the choice of lines. The choice centres on aspects of revenge, the passion of anger, the tyrant and his obsession with power, the nature of the ideal ruler, the beauty of the simple life, and the unpredictable nature of human affairs.

The lines of Franco Estius that accompany the Goltzius engraving of Melpomene (1592), reveal the popularity of *Thyestes* (see frontespiece).[64] The engraving depicts the muse of tragedy, Melpomene, seated on a bench holding a scroll and surrounded by the accoutrements of writing. In the penultimate line of the transcription Estius refers to the sister of Adrastus,

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[62]Marston, (1965) [1599], *Antonio and Mellida: The first part:* ed. Hunter, G.K., (London); Marston (1965) [1599] *Antonio's Revenge: The second part of Antonio and Mellida:* ed. Hunter, G.K., (Lincoln, Neb.).

[63]cf. Hughes, (1992), *The Misfortunes of Arthur: a critical old-spelling edition ed. Corrigan, B.J.* (New York) for list of lines.

[64]Strauss, (ed.1982), op.cit.: p. 141.

Eriphyle (the spelling of her name is unusual- *Eryphiles*). The neat elegiacs of Franco Estius describe the *Thyestes* as the paradigmatic tragedy of all tragedies:

Melpomene ostendit numeros quas caena Thyeste,
Prognes olla quibus, quibus Oetheiae dolores
Et lachrymas Electras, et maestas lameuta Eryphiles,
Describi Tragico possent instructa cothurno.

A sixteenth century set of detailed instructions (c.1580) for the decoration of the Bacon family house describe the presentation of allegorical paintings concerning the legend of the house of Atreus (MS Sloane 1041) [see text 1.627].[65] This most interesting manuscript has hitherto received negligible scholarly attention. These instructions reveal the cultural currency of the myth and the tragedy, albeit among an educated elite. The heading following the account of the visual presentation of Hecate lists the name of the play *Thyestes* alongside the name of Atreus:

Atreus: Thyestes.

Under the Hagges a fayre palace shall be drawne of whyte marble and yvoryie: it shall be sett owt and polished in dyverse places with golden [branches] .The gates of his palace shall be made wyde open: wythin it, a fayre large canopye of purple velvette shall be drawne and also caste up and stayed wyde open: wythin this canopye, Atreus shall sytte at th end of a Cypresse table spreadde wyth diaper: at the Ryghte end of the table. By him in some meete place shall stand hys armes in a

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[65]Evett, D., (1990), *Literature and the visual art in Tudor England*, p. 98: lists an interesting set of sixteenth century instructions for elaborate allegorical paintings: MSS Sloane 1041, 1062,1063, 1082 ,1096, 1169, and Harvey MS 6957.

Ryche scutcheon, whyche is a golden [forme] wythin a semicircle fallynge from the lefte end of the table and from Thyestes towards the Ryghte syde of it wheare Atreus doth sytte. Upon the toppe of his palace a Bone of yvorie shall lye. The vayle or canopye shall have devyses of gold wroughte upon yt as is lyke to make them, and amongst them a storke and a dove, and such lyke as maye declare love of simplicitye. Atreus shall looke wyth a very wreathfull and fyerce cowntenawnce upon his Brother Thyestes. he shall have a scepter in his ryghte hand. Abowte his head he shall weare a diadem, whyche ys a twyste or band of fyne whyte linen folded: upon his head a Crowne of gold: he shall weare a longe cloke of purple velvette wyth hemmes and verges of gold sette wyth stones. Under hys cloke a cote of cloth of gold: hys hose are of purple sylke, hys shoes of redde velvette. Wythe hys lefte hand he shall putt owte and showe to Thyestes the heades of his ii yonge chyldren newely cutte off and freshely bleedynge: whyche heades he shall hold by the heare or lockes. He shall weare buskynnes of redde velvette up to the mydde legge laced wyth gold lace. [66]

This description of the palace of Pelops and Atreus' clothes is tinged with the note of richness and excess. The references to the materials for the garments are specific- velvet, silk and gold. The details of the colours also signal tragedy's association with richness- purple and red. The motif of the heads of Thyestes' children as an instrument of recognition features in the account. The set of instructions for the depiction of Thyestes focuses on the mutilation of the children and the motif of the cannibalistic feast:

Thyestes.

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66 MS Sloane 1041, op.cit..

At th other end of the table, Thyestes, hys brother shall be drawne, a Rostyd shoulder of a chyld shall be sett before hym in a sylver dyshe, and so eatyng of yt. Also a golden cuppe full of bloodde shall stand by the meate and a maunchette of fyne breade with a fayre knyfe, trencher, napkyn and golden salt sceller. he shall be made turning his hys head awaye sodeynly, lookynge up [wrathfully] with greate screeams and Anger, as one proclayminge and detestynge the treachery, and loathynge the meate and bloodd putte byfore hym: he shall also caste up hys head and eyes on hyghe, as Invocatynge Jupiter for just revenge of hys brothers villany. hys armes shall stand by hym, whyche is a golden Ramme sett in a fyeld of blewe azure. Attyre hym as is meete for a kynges yonger brother to weare: but he must weare a cloke and buskynnes after the gresian fashion which was apparrayle used in Tragedyes. [67]

The description emphasises the articles that the artist is to place on the table- the silver dish, the golden cup, the meat, bread, knife, trencher, napkin and golden salt seller. This level of detail reveals the recognisability of the Thyestean motif of the feast. The artist is instructed to depict the reactions of Thyestes- the torment of his anger and screams, and his desire for Jupiter to exact just revenge. The specific mention of the *buskynnes* prompts one to consider the details of Thyestes' attire in terms of stage clothing. There is a relatively detailed account of the Ram as an outward sign of rule. The Ram plays a significant role in Atreus' comments to his Servant on the nature of the crimes that Thyestes has committed against his own brother. The details for the visual diplay of the story of these brothers is followed by an account of instructions for the

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67 ibid..

presentation of Eteocles and Polynices. These sets of brothers share the motif of the dispute over rule.
[for MS Sloane 1041 and the Hendrik Goltzius' engraving see Introduction to the thesis].

97 To toyle, as he in Troas did:

In the Preface to *Troas* (1559) Heywood outlines the difficulties that he encountered with the translation.[68] He expresses that it was impossible to convey the exact meaning of Seneca's lines, because the corruptions in the printed editions of Seneca's tragedies have made it an arduous task to determine an author's intentions (sig. A3v/33-A4/3). In the *Preface* to *Troas* [69] he reveals that he has made alterations to the text (sig. A4/20-2). Heywood in several instances does his best to capture the crispness of Seneca's *sententiae* but it does not always work- for example, he does not convey the succint nature of Hecuba's complaint (A8/31-2). [70] He does preserve a good deal of Seneca's imagery, however his rendering of *Troas* into English retains Seneca's five act structure. An equivalent for Seneca's metre is found in Heywood- this is illustrated by his use of the fourteener, rime royal, decasyllabic iambic lines with every second one rhyming and octosyllabic iambic lines rhyming alternately. Heywood, like Seneca, uses a separate verse form for the Choruses- for example, decasyllabic verses with every second line rhyming for the first Choral ode, asclepiadean metre for the second Choral ode, and the sapphic metre for the fourth Choral ode.

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[68]O'Keefe, op.cit.: p. 93ff. for a detailed account of the quality of Heywood's translation.
[69]Heywood, J., (1559), *The sixt tragedie of the most graue and prudent author, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers and sundrye addicions to the same* (London).
[70]O'Keefe, op.cit.: pp. 93-4 for discussion of *sententiae* .

107-8 In miter of thy mother tongue/ to geue to sight of men:

Seneca tells Heywood to render his text into a different verse form. Gryphius records the metre of Seneca's verse in the section of his edition of Seneca's tragedies entitled *Dimensiones Tragoediarum Senecae per Hieronymum Avantium* - commenting on Seneca's use of Archilochian iambic trimetres. Heywood created a metre for his translation of the *Thyestes* that roughly corresponded to that of Seneca. Seneca composed each Choral ode in diverse metres. Heywood does not make any attempt to represent Seneca's range, rendering the choric sections of the text in iambic lines that rhyme alternately. The Gryphius edition notes that the first Chorus is constructed in acslepiadean choriambic metre, the second in a glyconic metre, the third in a sapphic metre and the fourth in an anapestic metre. The key metres employed by Heywood are the fourteener (rhymed pairs of fourteen syllable iambic lines) and decasyllabic iambic lines in which every other line rhymes. The fourteener is used for the main body of the text (excluding the Choral odes and Atreus' soliloquy in 5.2). Heywood also composed his addition to the text in fourteeners. Alexander Neville, John Studley and Thomas Newton also utilised the fourteener for their translations of Seneca. Thomas Nuce's version of *Octavia* is the only early translation of a Senecan play not written in fourteeners, but rendered in decasyllabic and octosyllabic couplets. These first translations of the Roman dramatist into English deemed the stilted nature of the fourteener unbecoming, and revealed the suitability of the decasyllabic verse-form for the evolving form of English tragedy. This predilection appears to reflect a preference for the translation by Surrey in blank verse of Book Two of Virgil's *Aeneid* (c.1540). We cannot though, underestimate the impact of Heywood's translation of the grave iambic lines of Seneca's *Thyestes* in establishing the decasyllabic verse as the canonic form for English drama. The latter is supported when we consider

that Sackville and Norton composed *Gorboduc* (1561) in the decasyllabic verse-form only a year after the publication of Heywood's *Thyestes*.[71]

113-4 In Englishe verse, that neuer yet/ coulde latine understande:

Heywood expresses that he embarked upon the translation of *Thyestes* in order to make it more accessible to those that were unable to read Latin. In *Troas* (1559) and *Hercules Furens* (1561) Heywood also offers reasons for making his translations. In the former, he relates in the *Preface* to *Hercules Furens* that he rendered the text into English as a private exercise; and in the *Dedication* to *Hercules Furens* he suggests that the translation was inspired by a desire to better young scholars.

129-34 .....but well I wotte/ the hatefull cursed broode/ Farre greater is, that are long syns/ sproong up of Zoylus bloode./ That Red heard, black mouthd, squint eyed wretche/ hath cowched euery whearc:

Heywood mentions the censorious Greek grammarian Zoilus to reveal the contemporaneous usage of the term as a label for the carping critic. Heywood's description of the *broode* serves as an attack on the group who believed that translations of the classics were conducive to the demise of the morality within society. They also claimed that such translations were often inaccurate. In the introductory sections to Heywood's translations of *Troas* (1559) and *Hercules Furens* (1561) there are allusions to the criticism that was directed against translators, which may have arisen out of the Zoili. In the *Epistle* to *Troas* Heywood betrays the level of opposition to his translation (sig. A2/23-A2v/1). In the *Dedication* to *Hercules Furens* there is a further reference to such resistance. He asserts

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[71]Boyle, (1997), op.cit.:p.161 discusses the canonical influence of the verse form of *Gorboduc*.

that he hopes that the abuse may cease as a result of the patronage of Sir William Herbert (sig.A3v/4-8).

151-6 And who shall trauaile in thy bookes,/ more iudgement ought to haue/ Then I: whose greener yeares therby/ no thanks may hope to wynne./ Thou seest dame Nature yet hath sette/ No heares uppon my chynne:

Heywood expresses his belief that his age may be an obstacle to the undertaking of the translation of *Thyestes*. This reference to the youth of the translator appears to be a trope, for it is also features in the prefatory verses to Alexander Neville's translation of Seneca's *Oedipus* (1563) and John Studley's translation of *Agamemnon* (1566). In the former Neville asks for the reader to show him compassion because he embarked upon the translation when he was only sixteen. The prefatory verses that were supplied to Studley's rendering of *Agamemnon* entreat the reader to show kindness to the translator by reason of his inexpertness and adolescence. This emphasis suggests that translation was considered to be a suitable task for a young person to attempt which is illustrated by Roger Ascham in his *The Scholemaster* (1570): in the section *Translatio Linguarum* he comments that translation was both a common and an admirable exercise for an educated adolescent.

169-70 In Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne,/ Grayes Inne and other mo:

The phrase *Temples twayne* refers to the Inner and Middle Temples. These two Temples, together with Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, form the Inns of Court. Heywood had entered Gray's Inn in 1561. The literary products of the members of the Inns of Court were the first tragedies to be written in imitation of classical tragedy in the vernacular. Their dramatic

compositions numbered amongst them plays such as *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565; revised edition in 1570) and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587)- both of which were constructed around a Senecan model.

177-80 There shalt thou se the selfe same Northe,/ whose woorke his witte displayes,/ And Dyall dothe of Princes paynte,/ and preache abroade his prayse:

In these lines Heywood cites Sir Thomas North's *Dyall of Princes* (1557), a translation of Guevara's *El Relox de Princes*.

181-2 There Sackuyldes Sonetts sweetely sauste,/ and featly fyned bee:

In these lines Heywood makes a particular reference to Thomas Sackville's short poems. He does not allude to Sackville's authorship of sections of the *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565), the first English Senecan tragedy.

183 There Nortons ditties do delight:

This is an allusion to Thomas Norton who composed the first three acts of *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565). The reference to *ditties* is not expanded, and thus Heywood is referring to the broad category of any verse composition.

184-5 there Yeluertons doo flee/ Well pewrde with pen:

This is a further mention of a contemporaneous literary figure. Christopher Yelverton had advised Hughes on the use of dumb shows in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587).[72]

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[72]Daalder, op.cit.: p.11.

189-92 There heare thou shalt a great reporte,/ of Baldwyns worthie name./ Whose Myrrour dothe of Magistrates,/ proclayme eternall fame:

He refers to William Baldwin's *The Myrrour for Magistrates* (1559), a work detailing the fate of numerous historical figures. [73] He contributed a handful of his own poems to the edition- for example, one telling the story of Richard, the Earl of Cambridge, who was sentenced to death; another narrating Earl of Salisbury's demise at the hands of Pierce of Ordnance. Heywood may have known Baldwin because Heywood's father, John, had worked together with Baldwin on several dramatic productions.

193-6 And there the gentle Blunduille is/ by name and eke by kynde,/ Of whome we leame by Plutarches lore,/ what frute by Foes to fynde:

Heywood's cites Blundeville's treatise *The Fruits of Foes* (first printed 1558; revised addition 1561). The reference to Plutarch attests to Heywood's knowledge that the main body of the text was drawn from Plutarch's *De Utilitate Capienda ex Inimicis*.

197-8 There Bauande bydes, that turnde his toyle/ a Common welthe to frame:

This remark points to William Bavand's translation (1559) in nine books of the work of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus concerning the ordering of the Commonwealth (*Translation of the Work of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus, touchynge the Good Orderynge of a Commonweale* (London)).

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[73]Baldwin, W., (1559), *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (London).

201-4 There Googe a gratefull gaynes hathe gotte,/ reporte that runneth ryfe,/ Who crooked Compasse dothe describe,/ and Zodiake of lyfe:

Barnabe Googe had translated into English three books of Marcellus Palingenius's *Zodiacus Vitae* (1560).

249-50 To Printers hands I gaue the worke:/ by whome I had suche wrong:

These lines are the opening of a discussion of Heywood's discontent with the printing by Tottel of his translation of *Troas* (1559). His translation of *Troas* was published twice in 1559 by Tottel. This dissatisfaction with Tottel may have been the reason for the change in publisher for his rendering of *Thyestes* (1560). However, the printed edition of *Thyestes* does contain a few printing errors- for example, there is a suspected compositor's error at l.185 where it seems likely that Heywood would have meant *there* as opposed to the printed word *three* ; the printer fails to indicate that Atreus is speaking at l. 457; and it would appear that the letter *x* has been substituted wrongly for the letter*r* at ll.1112 in the word *Taxe*.

594-5 The summe of all the stryfe/ Now harken to:

Heywood offers a brief summary of the action of *Thyestes* . He relates that the act of infidelity [see text ll.413-4] forms the backdrop to the dramatic situation and that the storyline focuses on a false act of reconciliation [see text ll.861-972] and a cannibalistic feast [see text ll.1050-1381 and ll.1478-1883]. He notes that the opening of the play presents the audience with the figure of the displaced Tantalus. The Gryphius edition (1584) of Seneca's text includes an *argumentum* , outlining the events of the play. This presentation of the dramatic events is longer than that offered in Heywood's *Prefacœ*. Heywood also chose to include a synopsis of the main plot line in the *Preface* to *Troas* (1559) . However, he does

compose a separate *argumentum* to accompany his rendering of Seneca's *Hercules Furens* (1561).

613-7 Wherby I sawe how often tymes/ the Printers dyd him wrong./ Now Gryphyus, Colineus now,/ and now and then among/ He Aldus blamde:

In these lines Heywood lists editors, not printers, of Senecan texts. The current editions *Gryphyus* and *Aldus* can be identified, for the former refers to the printer from Lyons who published an edition of Seneca's tragedies in 1536, and the latter alludes to the Aldine edition which was published in Venice in 1517. It has, though, been impossible to establish the significance of Heywood's reference to *Colineus*.[74] Heywood does not specify which text he intended to use for his translation of *Thyestes.*

[for reference to editions of Senecan texts available in England see ll.85-6].

THE TEXT

1-240 The fyrst Acte:

Seneca uses the first act to forecast the principal theme of the play- namely, the discord between the brothers. The opening of the play reveals the ghost of Tantalus expressing his distress at having been transferred from his place in the Underworld. He articulates his anguish at the crimes proposed by Megaera. The ghost responds to the expectation of future crime with a desire to be returned to the lower world. The Fury, though, is able to persuade Tantalus to comply with her demands.

The parallel act in *MT* (1674) captures the Senecan feeling of a conflict of attitudes. Wright's Tantalus is displaced from his place of punishment but not by a Fury, as in Seneca (l.1. *furor*), but by the *Witch of Endor* (l.1) . The

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[74] Daalder, op.cit.: p.86 for research on *Colineus* .

reference to the latter is developed when Tantalus comments that these *Haggs* (l.4) are attempting to *whip* (l.5) him out of hell and *firk* (l.6) him up with a *Pox te'ye* (l.6). The mention of a venereal disease (*Pox*) suggests the traditional association between comedy and sexual activity and implies that the sexual motif of the Thyestean story is significant throughout Wright's burlesque. In Seneca's text and the burlesque Tantalus defines himself by reference to the location where he suffers his punishment- the Underworld in Seneca (l.1. *sede ab infausta*) and hell in Wright. The references to *Hell-doors* (l.5) and *Hell* (l.20) place the allusions to the abode of the damned in a Christian framework. Wright, unlike Seneca, does not mention the nature of Tantalus' punishment (l.2. *Auido fugaces ore captantem cibos?*).

In Seneca Tantalus expresses his reluctance to enter the earthly realm for he is apprehensive that he will be subjected to a new punishment (l.13. *In quod malum transcribor?*). He fears that he will have to endure the punishments of figures such as Sisyphus or Tityus. In *MT* Wright belittles the Senecan idea of physical punishment, for his Tantalus fears nothing more than being kicked by the inhabitants of earth or of being afflicted with a sexually-transmitted disease:

But should I take a Wenches shape,

'Tis six to four I get a Clap (ll.17-8).

Megaera's description of the task that she wishes Tantalus to effect focuses on the chaos that is to be unleashed (ll.52-3. *Misce penates: odia caedes, funera/ Accerse, et imple scelere Tantaleam domum*). The Fury offers an account of the denouement- detailing the murder and cooking of Thyestes' children and the cannibalistic feast (ll.58-62. *Nondum Thyestes liberos deflet suos?/ Ecquando tollet ignibus iam subditis/ Spumante aheno? membra per partes eant/ Discerpta, patrios polluat sanguis focos,/ Epulae instruantur*). In the burlesque Wright does not offer any

particulars about the nature of the revenge plot. Megaera's depiction of the disturbance she wishes Tantalus to produce focuses on the broad topic of the conflict between the brothers. She explains that Tantalus is to place *two live Eels* (l.38) in the bellies of the brothers and to compel the siblings to quarrel:

Then make 'em hector, huff, and swear,

Curse, damn, and sink, spit, fire, and stare;

Snatch Spits and tilt at one another,

And Brother bite off Nose of Brother (ll.43-6).

Tantalus' potency as a negative force is conveyed in Seneca (l.87. *dirus vapor*) and *MT* by the comparison that is drawn between the ghost and the deadly exhalation of evil:

Like a dire-Vapour, which some call

A Blast Hypocondriacal (ll.77-8).

The Senecan figure is humorously invested by Wright, who does not present his audience with a powerful figure- the comparison to *Candle snuff* (l.79) belittles Tantalus' powers. This is illustrated further when Tantalus tells mortals not to fear him because the only threat he poses is to their noses:

.....I will do

No harm, but stink, and so adiew (ll.81-2).

In Seneca and *MT* threats of torture play a part in prompting Tantalus to agree to Megaera's demands. In the former text Tantalus asks why the Fury holds snakes before him and awakens his thirst and hunger (ll.96-8. *Quid ora terres verbere, et tortos ferox/ Minaris angues? quid famem infixam intimis/ Agitas medullis?*). In *MT* the Fury describes the pain that will be inflicted on his posterior and penis :

I le try now to perswade your Tail.

Your Toby I'le so seaze with this

Rod that has lain three weeks in piss,

That you shall begg the thing to do,

Before we part, and thank me too (11.62-6).

Even though the determining factor appears to be the threat of Tysiphone, the avoidance of pain is still a prime consideration for he begs Tantalus not to seize his buttocks. Tantalus expresses his submission in the lines *Henceforth I'le do it without grudging:/ And like a plain well-meaning Gudgin* (11.85-6). The simile strengthens the portrait of Tantalus as a credulous, gullible person.

The stock character of the ghost appears in revenge plays of the early modern period, in which it serves to provide the revenger with justification for his actions. A number of these ghosts remain, like Seneca's ghost, outside the action of the play. The ghost of Gorlois in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) does not interact with the characters- his cries for revenge are heard in the prologue and his expression of satisfaction upon the completion of revenge closes the play. The love of the supernatural is illustrated in certain revenge tragedies of the early modern period by the multiplicity of ghosts. This is illustrated in Gwinne's Senecan play *Nero* (1603), for a spirit appears at the beginning of each act. The majority of Gwinne's ghosts are unrelated to the action of the play- they appear to verbalize laments concerning their sufferings, to encourage the furies to chastise their killers and to foreshadow future incidents. The latter is demonstrated in the fourth and fifth acts where, respectively, the ghost of Agrippina foretells the slaughter of Octavia, and the ghost of Octavia predicts Nero's demise. In Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* (1603-4) and *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1610-11), the audience are presented with numerous spirits. In the former there are three ghosts- Behemoth, Cartophylax and the Umbra of the Friar. These apparitions appear, unlike Seneca's Tantalus, before the characters of the

play- for example, in the final scene the Umbra of the Friar commands the murderers to retreat (5.4.1.43). Five ghosts feature in *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* - Bussy, Guise, Monsieur, Cardinal Guise and Chatillon [see 11.299-300]. The influence of Seneca's ghost on the genre of revenge tragedy may find an echo in Bussy's account of his recent displacement from the Underworld (5.1.). Bussy echoes Tantalus' description of his eruption through a fissure in the earth's surface :

Up from the chaos of eternal night
(To which the whole digestion of the world
Is now returning) once more I ascend (5.1.11.1-3).

The ghost is not present in all revenge tragedies of the early modern period: it is absent, for instance, from Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607). Even here, however, the skull of Gloriana is substituted for the ghost and adopts the ghost's role as the catalyst in the revenge action.
[for further discussion of the skull of Gloriana see 11.413-4 and 681-2].

3-4 That gape and gaspe with greedy iawe,/ the fleeyng foode to cate?:

Tantalus defines himself by reference to his punishment. In R.W.'s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2), Megaera alludes to the punishments that members of the Tantalus family suffered. The Fury comments on the hunger and thirst with which Pelops, Tantalus' son, was afflicted:

To gape and catch at flying fruites iu vaine,
And yeelding waters to his gasping throte (11.868-9).

[for Tantalus' punishment see 11.271ff.].

26-9 O cruell iudge of sprights,/ Who so thou be that torments newe/ among the soules delights/ Styll to dyspose:

Seneca's lines (11.13-15) depicting Tantalus' appeal are spoken by Antonio in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) at 3.1.11.66-8. These lines,

indicated in bold below, are combined with Seneca's lines (ll.75-81), slightly modified, which reveal Tantalus' supplication of his associates that suffer in the lower world (3.1.ll.68-73):

O quisquis noua

Supplicia functis durus umbrarum arbiter

Disponis, quisquis exeso iaces

Pauidus sub antro, quisquis venturi times

Montis ruinam, quisquis auidorum feros

Rictus leonum, et dira furiarum agmina

Implicitus horres, Antonii vocem excipe

Properantis ad vos: Ulciscar (3.1.ll.66-73).

Marston omits Seneca's reference to the torches *quisquis immissas faces/ Semiustus abigis* . It should be noted that the playwright substitutes, unmetrically, *Antonii* for *Tantali*. The last word of the speech (*Ulciscar*), signalling his wish to be avenged, is not present in Seneca's text.

[for other examples of Seneca's lines in *Antonio's Revenge* ll. 85-6 The Preface].

45-6 goe foorth/ thou detestable spright...:

Megaera's first speech reveals her association with evil. This affiliation is depicted in R.W.'s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) at ll.899ff., where the audience learns that she has been sent forth by the Senate with *instruments of death* (l.899) to plague the house of Gismund as punishment for *those whom shame from sin cannot restraine* (l.908). Megaera's ability to unleash the forces of vengeance and death is developed in the following lines, when the Fury refers to the snakes that she will cast into the breasts of Tancred and his daughter Gismund (ll.900ff.):

This stinging snake which is of hate and wrath,

Ile fixe vpon her fathers heart full fast,

And into hers, this other will I cast,

Whose rankling venome shall infect them so

With enuious wrath, and with recurelesse wo

Each shall be others plague and ouerthrow (11.900-5).

51-63 ..and meane of ire/ procure there maie be none,/ Nor shame....but ere the gylt/ with vengeance be acquyt,/ Encrease the cryme:

This reference to the destructive nature of anger (ll.26-32. *nec sit irarum modus,/ Pudorve.....dumque; punitur scelus,/ Crescat*) is translated from the Latin by Hughes in his *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587):

Let mischiefes know no meane, nor plagues an end.

Let th'ofsprings sinne exceede the former stocke:

Let none haue time to hate his former fault,

But still with fresh supplie let punisht cryme

Increase, till tyme it make a complet sinne (1.1.ll.22-6).

[for lines that Hughes translated from Thyestes see ll.85-6 The Preface].

93-5 ....let trust that in/ the breasts of brethem breedes,/ And truthe be gone:

Hughes' rendering into English of the Latin lines (ll.47-8.*fratris et fas, et fides,/ Iusque; omne pereat*) in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587), captures the feeling of moral collapse:

All truth, all trust, all blood, all bands be broke (3.4.l.14).

[for lines that Hughes translated from Thyestes see ll.85-6 The Preface].

173-7 ....I am sent foorth/ lyke vapour dyre to ryse,/ That breakes the ground, or poyson lyke/ the plague, in wondrowse wyse/ That slaughter makes:

Jonson imitates these Senecan lines in his depiction of Sylla in *Catiline* (1611).[75] This ghost, like that of Seneca, describes himself in terms of an infection:

Behold, I come, sent from the Stygian sound,
As a dire vapour that had cleft the ground,
To ingender with the night and blast the day;
Or like a pestilene that should display
Infection through the world (1.ll.11-5).

The influence of Seneca on the formation of Jonson's ghost of Sylla is attested by Wright in his *Advertisement* to his *Thyestes A Tragedy, Translated out of Seneca. To which is Added Mock-Thyestes, in Burlesque* (1674):

Yet Ben: Johnson thought a considerable part of Seneca's Thyestes not improper for the English Stage in his time, when he took most of Sylla's Ghost from hence (A3v.).

241-94 <u>Chorus:</u>

The Choral ode falls into three parts: the Chorus beseech the gods for their assistance, they sing of the crimes of Pelops and Tantalus, and present an account of Tantalus' punishment. Thus, the ode serves to offer a wider context to the action of the play.

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[75]Jonson, B., [1611] *Catiline* ed. Herford, C.H., and Simpson,P.,:vol.V (Oxford,1937).

263 On wicked swoorde the litle infant throwne..:

The Chorus narrate the story of the slaughter of Pelops. The description of the perversion of the sacrificial rites anticipates the slaughter of Thyestes' children [see ll.1050ff.]. In the parallel ode in *MT* (1674) the Chorus echo the Senecan idea of inherited wickedness by offering an account of the story of Pelops. The genealogy is conveyed simply in the ode- it narrates that Pelops is the father of Atreus and Thyestes and that Pelops *was Son of one Tantalus* (l.108). The reference to Pelops focuses on the display of violence:

Pelops their Father was, and he

Kill'd his own Wives Dad a dadde (ll.101-2).

The final line of the quote suggests that Wright is presenting a parody of the mythological story of Pelops' wooeing of Hippodameia, daughter of Oenomaus of Pisa. The word *dadde* may serve as a description of the act of violence for *dad* was a term used to denote a blow, knock or thump.[76] The death of Oenomaus is referred to again in the following lines:

He loved the Sport so well that rather

Then want a Wench he'd kill a Father (ll.103-4).

Myrtilus' role in the killing is belittled by the reference to him as a *Pimp*:

Nay more, the most ungrateful Woer

Hang'd the poor Pimp that helpt him to her (ll.105-6).

The Chorus allude to Myrtilus' removal of the pins in his master's chariot. The detail that Wright offers concerning Myrtilus' death is not accurate. The Chorus say *Hang'd* whereas mythology holds that he is thrown into the sea by Pelops.

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[76]*OED* s.v. (Dad/Daud).

271 With emptie throate stands Tantalus beguilde.:

In the translation of Tantalus' punishment Heywood captures the contrast in Seneca's text between the movement of fruit (l.152. *impendet* : *leanes to thee* (l.272) ; l.154. *incubat* :*declinde* (l.274) and the inertness of Tantalus (l.151. *stat* : *stands* (l.271) ; l.158. *negligit* : *neglects* (l.278) ; l.159. *obliquatque oculos, oraque comprimit* : *He turnes his eyes, his iawes he doth refrayne* (l.279)). Seneca concludes the ode with a detailed portrayal of Tantalus in the Underworld. In contrast, the background to the action in *MT* (1674) is the contemporaneous scene. Wright depicts the punishment as a result of Tantalus, in his role as a Serjeant's Yeoman, pursuing a Cook. The Chorus sing that *Clerks and Bullies of the Cloisters* (l.113) saw the Cook in danger and helped him by throwing him into *Temple Bog-house up to th' Chin* (l.122). The denigration of the tragic motif of Tantalus' punishment is highlighted by the reference to a *Bog-house* , a privy. Wright gives Tantalus' struggle to satisfy his desires a humorous twist in explaining the origin of the word *Tantalising*:

The cunning Spit-man therefore, thus
Brings a full Pot to Tantalus:
Which wheh the poor Fool reaches at,
He empties it upon his Pate.
And this is briefly the first rising
Of that which we call Tantalizing (ll.145-50).

[for reference to Tantalus' punishment see ll.1-240].

295-618 <u>The seconde Acte</u>

The act takes the form of an emphatically one-sided conversation between Atreus and his deferential servant. The servant is unable to dissuade Atreus from his desire to be avenged on his brother for seducing his wife, and thus he assists Atreus with his plan. The depiction of a

protagonist conversing with his confidant also features in Seneca's *Hippolytus* ll.85-273 and *Agamemnon* ll.108-225.

The protagonist-confidant scene opens with a speech by Atreus in which he conveys the disordered nature of his character. This is imitated in the parallel passage in *MT* (1674). Wright, unlike Seneca, names the servant. Wright may have called him *Jack* (l.153) in an attempt to fully mould the character of the servant. The name Jack is suitable, for it is a typical cognomen for a representative of the common people.[77] The popularity of this appellation is revealed in Wycherley's plays. In *The Country Wife* (1675) Horner addresses Mr.Pinchwife as Jack at 1.1.1.328, 4.3.1.241, 4.3.1.244 and 4.3.1.248; and the second sailor is called Jack at 1.1.11.89ff., 3.1.473ff. *The Plain Dealer* features numerous proverbial phrases in which the name Jack appears- for example, at 2.1.798 the Widow refers to Freeman as a *saucy familiar Jack*, and Jerry employs the phrase *Jack of all trades* (3.1.1.387) to describe one of the places where he will go to *buy the neatest, purest things* (3.1.1.388).

The infidelity motif as the cause of this turbulence is introduced in the opening line of the burlesque- in Seneca Atreus does not allude to this violation until ll.387ff.. Wright's development of this motif is illustrated by the detailed account of the physical appearance of the wife, the discussion of punishing the wife for her infidelity and in the form that the revenge action will take. The latter is illustrated when the servant suggests:

Then let him; since th' offence was done

In blankets, be well tost in one.

And so the business shall be ended

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[77]see Skeat, W.W.,(1879-82), *An etymological dictionary of the English language* (Oxford) and Hyamson (1922) *A dictionary of English phrases* (London).

In the same manner he offended (ll.211-4).

The sexual nature of the revenge plan in *MT* flagrantly reflects the libertine tastes of the contemporaneous society. The servant suggests castration:

What if we two, and a third Man
Should catch him Napping when we can;
And then e'ne geld him for a warning?
This sure will spoil his Trade of Horning (ll.203-6).

The servant proposes that Atreus could retaliate by debauching Thyestes' future wife. He rejects this recommendation because he feels that such delay *dulls the Sport, and palls the Relish* (l.230). In Seneca the discussion of the vehicle by which revenge will be exacted focuses on the use of the sword (l.256 *ferrum*), fire (l.256 *ignis*) and the cannibalistic feast (ll.276-7 *liberos auidus parens,/ gaudenq; laceret, et suos artus edat*). In Seneca Atreus rejects the first two of these proposals because he feels that these are too lenient. In contrast, Atreus in *MT* discards the suggestions of gelding and tossing- the latter because it *Too violent and open is* (l.216). The invitation from Atreus for Thyestes to return is to be conveyed by Atreus' children in Seneca's text and in *MT*:

I'le send my own Sons Menelaus,
And Agamemnon with a Letter:
And that will do a great deal better (ll.254-6).

The examination of the common master-slave relationship in Hellenistic and New Comic heritage which follows will help weld the disparate material represented by the consideration of the motif in Seneca and the Restoration burlesque.[78] The most popular illustration of this

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[78]see Krieter-Spiro, M., (1997), *Sklaven, Kuche und Hetdren: das Dienstpersonal bei Menander* (Stuttgart) for an account of the comic role of the slave.

relationship in Greek comedy is depicted in Aristophanes' *The Frogs*. Xanthias usurps his master, Dionysus, and outwits him in the scene with the Doorkeeper. The audience has seen by this stage in the play that the master has become reliant on his slave. It is not possible to ascertain whether there is an earlier example than *The Frogs* of a leading role for a slave but it appears that Xanthias serves as a precedent for the major role of the slave that is present in New Comedy.

The attested theory that Plautus and Terence played a decisive role alongside Seneca in shaping European drama has dictated that the present examination will centre on their works. Given the nature of the discussion in this section, we are primarily concerning ourselves with the multitude of slaves that aid their masters in their exploits. The presentation of slaves in comedy depends on the fascination of a world turned on its head- a comic province where slaves assume a level of freedom that is associated with a superior position. In general, a young master feels that he is assured of success once he has engaged his cunning slave. This familiarity often breeds a lack of respect but this is a minor fault in comparison with the tactlessness, rashness and curiosity that the slave commonly displays. Occasionally, as in Terence's *Eunuchus*, a slave will object to his master's orders and attempt to reason with him. A slave though, is not always driven by compulsion but at times exercises his own initiative for the sake of his master. The latter is demonstrated by Syrus in Terence's *Heauton Timoroumenos*. He employs his resourcefulness in order to obtain for his master enough money for him to persist in his enjoyment of Bacchis. After several unsuccessful attempts he secures the money from Chremes, and his mastery is assured when he persuades Chremes to let the young master, Clitipho, convey it to Bacchis. A further example of a slave aiding his master in his amorous exploits is offered by Plautus' *Bacchides*. In the play the schemes of the slaves procure for their

masters the objects of their desire. The bond between a slave and his/her master is shown, in part, to be borne out of affection and loyalty. The former is shown by Syra in Plautus' *Mercator* and Mysis in Terence's *Andria*; and the latter by Geta in Terence's *Adelphi* and Palaestrio in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*. The relationship between the master Philocrates and Tyndarus in Plautus' *Captivi* also demonstrates the depth of this bond for Tyndarus places himself in danger in order for Philocrates to escape capture. A brief analysis of the *Miles Gloriosus* is merited for he served as the prototype for other cunning Plautine slaves such as Pseudolus. The loyal slave Palaestrio pursues the braggart soldier in order to retrieve his master's kidnapped girlfriend, and for the purpose of his intrigue suffers abduction by pirates and further slavery. His invention of a wealthy rival for the amatory attention of the soldier forms the central machination of his plot. This appeal to the soldier's sense of pride prompts him to surrender to Palaestrio the girl and a proportion of his material possessions. The slave Pseudolus (*Pseudolus*) also guides the plot in order to aid his master in his amatory exploits. The story line depicts the slave's successful endeavours to free Calidorus' love, Phoenicium, from a pimp.

To return to the issue of the master-slave relationship in vernacular drama, we will explore the dramatic representations by sixteenth and seventeenth-century playwrights of the meeting between a passionate protagonist and a confidant who advises restraint. The failure of the voice of reason to triumph over the individual who is subject to passion features briefly in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589, printed without date 1592). At 3.8.11.1ff. the maid tries to assauge her mistress' passion by revealing that Horatio is alive and by describing the torment that she feels as she watches Isabella. This scene reminds one of the scene between Phaedra and the nurse in Seneca's *Hippolytus* ll.85-273.

In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) R.W. imitates the Senecan motif of the character who advises a passionate individual to practise restraint. At ll.1692ff. the Chorus recommend Gismund to *suppresse her distresse* (ll.1694). Their argument recommending moderation focuses in part, like that of the servant in *Thyestes*, on the public position of the passionate being:

Cal to your mind (Gismund) you are the Queene (l.1705).

Seneca's servant reminds Atreus of his position as king and his obligation to his subjects. Gismund, like Atreus, rejects this suggestion.

297-8 To tyrants checke, I counte that maye/ in waightie thyngs befall,):

Classical history and tragedy helped to mould the Renaissance treatise on tyranny and kingship. The Renaissance found examples of the nature of tyrants in the works of Plato, Seneca, Suetonius and Tacitus. [79] Seneca's Atreus is presented as a vehicle of desire and violence, and was paradigmatic in the dramatisation of the tyrant figure as he appears in numerous plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Playwrights pattern the tyrannical passion on the Senecan form; they imitate Seneca's use of stichomythia and soliloquy and very often they are set in the remote classical past, for example in Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) at 2.2.l.17 , which will be discussed later in this section .

In all these plays, the emphasis is placed on the oppressor's baseness of character. Plays of the sixteenth century, like statecraft literature, focus on the tyrant as an individual rent apart by his desires and governed by his emotions. This presentation was meant to offer a contrast to the image of the righteous ruler. Specific attention is given to the tyrant's subordination to women in order to depict his power and its threatened

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[79]Bushnell, op.cit.: pp.8ff. for Plato's portrait of the tyrant; pp. 29ff. for Suetonius and Tacitus on Nero and Caligula.

instability. This focus, combined with the dramatic representation of the association between a tyrant's pleasures and effeminacy, was complicated by the presence of female rulers in England and Scotland. Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots both evoked and arrested the overt identification of the feminine with the tyrant. The issue of tyrant gender was confused further in the sixteenth century by statecraft treatises which dictated that princely virtues were of a masculine nature. In the plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century (1580-1610) there is a lack of exploration into the moral being of the oppressor and a preoccupation with the question of the legitimacy of his rule. Jonson's *Sejanus : his fall* (1603) mirrors this obsession by splitting the presentation of the types of ruler into two figures- Sejanus the usurper and Tiberius the legitimate ruler.

The dramatic representations of tyranny may have received the support of the ruling classes because they could serve to legitimise their rule, especially in the changing period between 1580 and 1610 in which the bounds of social class were shifting due the emergence of capitalism. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the gentry was being strengthened and altered by professional men, traders and industrialists. These groups formed the backbone of the House of Commons which had developed in importance under the Tudor monarchs, but Elizabeth I had rejected the efforts of the members of the Commons to meddle in foreign policy and religious issues. Thus, it was not suprising that when James I came to England, where he knew the royal privileges to be extensive, that he should have spoken so violently about the rights of kingship. The plays of both these periods reveal that the unpredictable nature of the tyrant

threatened to dismiss any distinction between the tyrant and the legitimate King. [80]

It seems opportune to introduce into the analysis of the association between tyranny and theatre a brief discussion of Machiavelli (1469-1527) and the Senecan tyrant, especially given the influence of Machiavelli's statecraft on Renaissance political treatises.[81] On a superficial level, it appears that there is little similarity between Machiavelli's political concept of power and Seneca's Stoic philosophy but if we examine the two more closely there are hitherto undiscovered parallels.

Given the central place that *The Prince* (1513) occupies in the history of political thought, it will form the focus of our discussion of Machiavelli's works. [82]This technical book can be seen as a counsel for tyrants. It describes the means by which a single figure can gain and retain power but fails to address the issue of the correct use of power. The subjects of the prince receive little consideration and are recognised only in terms of the measures that a new ruler must adopt in order to maintain control over them. Thus, violence and a lack of moral scruples are considered as a integral part of Machiavelli's state. Machiavelli teaches the prince that cruel measures should be meted out quickly and callously because these two qualities ensure that the act will have the required effect. He advises

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[80]ibid.: pp.78ff. for additional consideration of the complex circumstances underlying the depiction of the tyrant in sixteenth and seventeenth century plays.

[81]Wood, N., (1968), 'Some Common Aspects of the thought of Seneca and Machiavelli'. *Renaissance Quarterly, Volume 21: No.1* , for further details on Machiavelli's similarity to Seneca.

[82] cf. Cassirer, E., essay *Implications of the New Theory of the State* in Adams, R.M., (1977), *Niccolò Machiavelli: The Prince: A New Translation, Backgrounds, Interpretations, Peripherica* (N.Y., London) for a discussion of Machiavelli's support of the role of the Dictator; and for a helpful introduction to Machiavelli's text see Skinner, Q., and Price, R., (1988), *Machiavelli: The Prince* (Cambridge).

the usurper to eliminate all obstacles in his way, including the family of the right ruler (Chapter three)[83]:

To keep a secure hold, it suffices to have extinguished the line of the previous prince.....

Cruelty as a quality of a prince is discussed further in Chapter seventeen. He insists that the subjects' fear of punishment from their ruler will maintain his political rule, and thus it is unavoidable for him to avoid acquiring a reputation for cruelty. He proceeds to argue that it is hard for a new prince to be both adored and feared, and that if one of these has to be missing that it is better to be feared. In the following chapter Machiavelli's explanation of what it means for the ruler to act immorally is furthered. Chapter eighteen focuses on the degree to which a ruler should keep his promises. It is suggested that a wise prince should not keep his word if it threatens to undermine his self-interests. This is illustrated by reference to recent events- he reveals that the rulers who have achieved greatness were those who failed to honour their promises. Machiavelli's allusions to the necessity for a prince to show contempt for traditional virtues is developed when he advocates that a ruler should practice the art of deception. This argument rests on the fact that it is important for a leader to be of good virtue, and thus he advocates that if a prince fails to possess these virtues then it is necessary for him to pretend to have them. Machiavelli appears to be suggesting that a ruler should develop two natures (one good and one bad) and learn to adopt them when necessity dictates. The attributes of the ruler (for example, cruelty, heartlessness and the art of dissimulation) that have been highlighted in this account strongly suggest similarities with the Senecan tyrant, in particular Atreus. However, it is difficult to determine whether Seneca served as a stimulus

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[83]ed. used, Adams, ibid.: p.6..

for Machiavelli. It is possible though, to assert with a high degree of certainty that both writers demonstrated the virtues of the doctrine of imitation and the didactic function of literature.

Playwrights presented an image of tyranny in order to encourage the prince to rule proficiently. This is mirrored in Sir Thomas Elyot in *Boke named the Governor* (1531). Sir Philip Sidney in his *Defence of Poesy* (c.1580) appears to convey the standard Renaissance view that the purpose of tragedy was didactic. This theory is manifested in Sidney's general views on tragedy, in which he focuses on the emotions stirred by tragedy. He suggests that the ability of tragedy to open 'the greatest wounds' teaches Kings to fear the effects of adopting a tyrannical mask, and tyrants to display their disposition. Sidney quotes lines from Seneca's *Oedipus* in order to illustrate that the emotions generated by tragedy reveal to rulers the weak foundations on which power can be built:

Qui sceptra saevus duro imperio regit

Timet timentes; metus in auctorem redit (ll.705-6).

He demonstrates his belief that poetry can impel men to act righteously further by citing the example of the tyrant Alexander Pheraeus' attendance at a performance of Euripides' *The Trojan Women*:

But how much it can move, Plutarch yeeldeth a notable testimonie of the abominable Tyrant Alexander Pheraeus, from whose eyes a Tragedie, well made and represented, drew abundance of teares, who without all pittie had murthered infinite numbers, and some of his own bloud: so as he, that was not ashamed to make matters for Tragedies, yet could not resist the sweet violence of a Tragedie. And if it wrought no further good in him, it was, that in despight of himself, withdrew himselfe from hearkening to that which might mollifie his hardened heart .[84]

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[84]Sidney. P.,(1595), *Defence of Poesie* (London):sig.e4r.

These lines though, merely suggest that the cruel tyrant was moved in emotional terms- there is no indication that the dramatic presentation altered his behaviour. This example serves to highlight that dramatic representation does not always evoke a moral response.

Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) presents a satisfactory example of the dramatisation of tyranny. The play transfers the focus from the character of the prince to the larger concern of civil war (perhaps rendered more topical by the Dutch Wars of Independence c.1568, with which the English were much involved). This play reveals what English dramatists drew from Seneca's picture of an oppressor. Mordred, who becomes a tyrant when Arthur (Mordred's father) has left for war, speaks numerous Senecan lines. Hughes has translated Senecan lines for Mordred to utter on the relationship between king and subjects, the corruption of free speech and the nature of the wise man.

The relationship between a ruler and his subjects is explored in order to present the nature of the tyrant. Mordred voices tyrannical sentiments on the suppression of the subject's freedom of speech, and the use of force to gain obedience. In 2.2. he declares that:

The Subiects must not iudge their kings decrees (2.2.1.17).

Mordred infers that he can secure the allegiance of his subjects by threatening them with a show of violence:

If their assents be slowe, my wrath is swift,

Whom fauour failes to bende, let furie breake.

If they be yet to learne, let terrour teach (2.2.11.74-6).

The playwright explores the conventional relationship between the tyrant and rule by force, the oppressor and his desire to secure his power.These issues are expressed at 1.4.11.95-6 in Mordred's conversation with Conan (1.4.11.95ff.):

Whose rule wants right, his safety's in his Sword.

For Sword and Scepter comes to Kings at once (1.4.11.95-6).

They are further illustrated by Mordred at 1.4.98ff. when he reveals that the ambitious man resorts to force in order to obtain rule:

A free recourse to wrong doth oft secure
The doubtfull seate, and plucks downe many a foe.
The Sword must seldome cease: a Soueraignes hand
Is scantly safe, but whiles it smites (1.4.11.102-5).

The issue of civil war allows Hughes to explore the relationship between tyranny and violence. When Mordred has learnt that Arthur has returned from fighting abroad he implies in 2.2. that he is prepared to fight Arthur in order to retain rule.:

Tis better for a King to kill his foes (2.2.1.15).

The desire to fight in order to secure the regal crown is reiterated further at 11.51ff.:

..... The Scepter fittes but one.
But whether is the fitter of vs two,
That must our swordes decerne: and shortly shall (2.2.11.51-3).

Civil war allows the playwright to highlight the tyrannical character of Mordred by offering a contrast in the presentation of the kingly character of Arthur. This distinction is revealed in the conversation between Arthur and Cador in 3.1. on the prospect of engaging in civil war. Cador voices tyrannical sentiments on the use of violence to punish the usurper. Arthur, in response, comments that he will extend compassion to Mordred for:

Compassion is as fit for Kings as wrath (3.1.1.85).

The virtue of clemency has been signalled out as a defining feature of the model ruler. Seneca in his *De clementia* discusses the virtue of mercy as a characteristic of the king. At 1,xi.4. he says that a ruler who shows mercy towards others gains the honour that secures his power:

Clementia ergo non tantum honestiores sed tutiores praestat ornamentumque imperiorum est simul et certissima salus.

This sentiment is explicitly translated by Elyot in his *Boke named the Governor* (1531):

Surely nothing more entirely and fastly joineth the hearts of subjects to their prince or sovereign than mercy and gentleness.[85]

He tells that noble emperors obtained the favour of their enemies when they displayed *mercy above men's expectations*.[86] Elyot cites the example recorded in Seneca of the Emperor Augustus' clemency towards Cinna as a example of the exercise of mercy by the ruling classes. [87] This example is made more poignant by the vernacular pun on the name Cinna- the sound of the name is similar to the pronounciation of the word 'sinner'. The second son in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) also reveals that Augustus was able to dispense mercy:

Upon submission, Caesar will forgive,

And therefore though the tyrant did amiss,

It may fall out that he will let him live (11.702-4).

This is reiterated at 11.718ff.:

But then mine ear received more evidence,

By that I knew his love to clemency,

How he with hottest choler could dispense (2.2.11.718-20).

To return to the idea of mercy in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, Arthur will not use the sword against Mordred but will attempt to seduce his son's mind with *good deserts* (3.1.1.92). Hughes focuses on Arthur's relationship with his subjects in 3.1. in order to reveal Arthur's status as a model ruler. Arthur expresses his belief that his subjects have borne

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[85]Elyot, T.,(1966)[1531], *The Boke named The Governor* (London): p.119.
[86]ibid.:p.116.
[87]ibid.:pp.116-8.

enough grief through war abroad and should not suffer the evils of civil war:

A faire reward for all their deaths, for all

Their warres abroad, to giue them ciuill warres.

What bootes it them reseru'd from forreine foiles

To die at home? What ende of ruthelesse rage? (3.1.11.217-20).

This concern for his country is echoed at 3.1.11.231ff.. Arthur defends his refusal to fight because he fears that it will destroy his native soil.

Herod, as a figure who is characterised by his lack of clemency, appears as a tyrannical figure in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam*.[88] Herod, as a recognisable figure from the Gospels and popular Mystery Plays of a previous generation, had become established in literature as a tyrant figure. This is illustrated in *Hamlet* (1602-3) where Shakespeare employs an allusion to Herod in the phrase *out-herods Herod* (3.2.11.16) in order to convey the feeling that Hamlet believes that the passion of the 1st Player will prompt him to exceed even Herod in cruelty, ferocity and violence. The line also serves as a warning against over-acting and ranting. The leading source for Cary's tragedy was Thomas Lodge's translation of Josephus' *History of the Jewish People* (published 1602).[89] As a learned woman her knowledge of Herod may have been derived from her knowledge of classical writers such as Suetonius. This play is part of a group that treats the figure of Herod as a means by which a playwright can examine the political relationship between monarchy and tyranny. In Cary's play the political theme focuses on the issue of authority and the submissiveness of subjects to their ruler. The first depiction of Herod as a tyrant appears in 1.2. At line 80 Alexandra refers to him as a despot:

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[88]text used ed. Purkiss, D.,(1994), *Renaissance Women: The Plays of Elizabeth Cary, The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer* (London).
[89]ibid.: p. xix.

The news we heard did tell the tyrant's end (l.80).

The play reveals that the two leading motives compelling the tyrant to act are passion and a need to secure his position. The action of the play discloses that the latter was the most forceful of these designs. One views the oppressor eliminating those individuals who threaten his position. Alexandra expresses her belief that the slaughter of her son, Aristobolus, and grandfather, Hircanus, served to royalise Herod and his family:

And say my father, and my son he slew,

To royalize by right your prince-born breath (ll.119-20).

In the Argument one learns that Herod, before the dramatic action opens, has removed Mariam's brother, Aristobolus, and her grandfather, Hircanus (ll.6ff.). The Argument narrates that Herod accused the former of treason and put him to death, and ordered the latter to be drowned merely for the purpose of amusement (ll.9ff.).

Alexandra suggests that Aristobolus was sentenced to death because Herod feared the legitimacy of Aristobolus' rights as a ruler. In 1.2. she establishes the supremacy and privilege of her son's birthright:

His birth annointed him both priest and king (l.118).

The slaughter of Aristobolus is referred to in Alexandra's speech at line 89ff.. When Alexandra questions the tears that Mariam sheds for the death of Herod she refers to Herod's murder of Aristobolus, her son:

What weep'st thou for thy brother's murd'rer's sake (l.81).

The murder is mentioned further in her address to Herod at line 91ff.:

Did not the murder of my boy suffice

To stop thy cruel mouth that gaping stood? (ll.92-3).

Details of Herod's lack of legitimacy as a ruler are offered by Alexandra in 1.2.. Alexandra questions the right that Herod had to wear the royal crown:

What kingdom's right could cruel Herod claim,

Was he not Esau's issue, heir of hell? (ll.99-100).

The lack of Herod's claim to sovereignty is expressed further in the following lines. She discloses by use of a rhetorical question that Herod's ancestors had surrendered their birth right:

Did not his ancestor his birth-right sell? (ll.102).

Alexandra infers that Herod's ancestry made him naturally disposed to act in a tyrannical manner. She suggests that Herod derived his *cruel nature* (2.1.ll.104) from his position as Esau's descendant. The relationship between Herod and a thirst for violence is enforced by the repetitive references to blood:

His cruel nature which with blood is fed,

That made him me of sire and son deprive;

He ever thirsts for blood, and blood is red (ll.104-6).

The allusion to blood as red is used to emphasise the birth link between Herod and Esau- Esau is given the name Edom meaning red.[90]

The association between blood and the tyrant is emphasised when the playwright offers instances of Herod's subjection to the rule of passion for this betrays the association of the feminine with tyranny. Thus, the dramatist is disclosing the connection between women and excess, and the idea of women as producers of blood, both physically and politically. The association between the tyrant and passion betrays the Renaissance theory that the tyrant displayed feminine traits.[91] John Knox's *First Blaste of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) illustrates this belief.[92] Knox suggests that a tyrant is subject to the irrationality and immorality that characterises the nature of women. Erasmus in his

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[90]ibid.: p. 73: note 14 refers to Genesis 25:30.

[91]for discussion see Bushnell, op. cit.: pp.64ff..

[92]Knox, J., ed.Crespin, J., (1972), *The First Blaste of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (New York).

Education of the Christian Prince narrates that subjection to one's desires labels one a tyrant and womanlike.

When a tyrant is put on the stage it offers the playwright the opportunity to portray passion. This relationship is revealed in 1380ff.. Herod infers in his conversation with Mariam that his command ordering the death of Sohemus is an impassioned decision:

....Sohemus false! Go, let him die,

Stay not to suffer him to speak a word.

Oh damned villain, did he falsify

The oath he swore e'en of his own accord? (ll.1384-7).

He reacts out of jealousy because he believes that Mariam loves Sohemus:

A beauteous body hides a loathsome soul;

Your love, Sohemus.... (ll.1391-2).

The tyrant's susceptibility to passion is articulated by Babus in 2.2. when he attempts to convey the oppressor's belief that he is not restricted by law or justice:

For had the tyrant fixed his cruel eye

On our concealed faces, wrath had swayed

His justice so, that he had forced us die (ll.663-5).

Thus, he suggests a tie between anger and a tyrant's impetus to act violently. One should note that the descriptions of Herod and Octavius focus on the susceptibility of the tyrant to bouts of passion- *wrath* (l.664) and *hottest choler* (l.720). In this respect, the portrayal of both Octavius and Herod is similar to Seneca's depiction of Atreus. Wrath seems a fitting emotion for the tyrant to experience, given its status as the most hideous of all emotions. Seneca in *De ira* discloses the frenzied nature of this passion:

Ceteris enim aliquid quieti placidique inest, hic totus concitatus et in impetu doloris est, armorum sanguinis suppliciorum minime humana

furens cupiditate, dum alteri noceat sui neglegens, in ipsa irruens tela et ultionis secum ultorem tracturae avidus (Book 1, section 1).

Cary chooses to highlight Herod's status as an oppressor by contemplating his utilisation of the virtue of clemency. She employs the example of Octavius, later Augustus Caesar (ll.711ff.) to reveal that a ruler, even a tyrannical one, should show mercy towards his foes. Octavius, like Herod, had stolen power. In the Argument (ll.24ff.) one learns that Caesar had overthrown Antony in order to obtain rule:

In this meantime Herod was again necessarily to revisit Rome, for Caesar having overthrown Antony his great friend, was likely to make an alteration of his fortune (ll.24-6).

Herod's failure to exercise the virtue of clemency is illustrated at ll.1285ff.. Herod does not heed Pheroras' advice to forgive Constabarus for sparing Babus' sons:

Pheroras: *You have forgiven greater faults than this,*
For Constabarus that against your will
Preserved the sons of Babus, lives in bliss,
Though you commanded him the youths to kill.
Herod :*Go, take a present order for his death* (ll.1285-89).

This order betrays that Herod is quick to mete out punishment. Elyot in *The Boke named the Governor* (1531) warns that the ruler who *hastily punisheth ofttimes soon repenteth*.[93]

Herod does not extend clemency to his wife, Mariam. He temporarily revokes his decision for her to meet with death (ll.1458ff.) because he does not wish to *deprive the world of light* (ll.1449):

Here, take her to her death. Come back, come back;
What, meant I to deprive the world of light (ll.1448-9).

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[93]Elyot, op.cit.: p.119.

In 4.7.1570ff. he articulates that his desire for vengeance on those that betray him is paramount. He tells Salome that Mariam is to die because of the foul dishonour that blots her forehead:

Then let her die, 'tis very true indeed,

And for this fault alone shall Mariam bleed (ll.1620-1).

In George Buchanan's *Baptistes* (1577) Buchanan dramatises the problems surrounding the identification of the tyrant. This is illustrated in the person of Herod. He is a tyrant yet at several stages in the play he speaks as a model ruler. The problem of identification is also explored by the Chorus, a company of Jews. They suggest that the tyrant lives within each individual. They sing of the monsters that are hidden in the mind's dark inner parts (Part first, ll.291). This sentiment is illustrated at ll.298ff. when they comment that within each person:

...the cruel tiger's rage

Would not be wanting there, nor the fierce wildness

Of the deep shining yellow lioness,

Nor the dire gluttony of ranging wolves,

Whose appetites no slaughter can assauge (Part first, ll.298-302).

These lines betray a belief that man is a complex individual with many faces.

Buchanan's utilises the portrait of the Queen to explore the standard relationship between the tyrant, the female and passion. Malchus, a Pharisee, offers an insight into the association between passion and the female in his portrait of the Queen's character:

.....One only now remains

A partner of my grief, the Queen enraged

Much like a tiger of her whelps bereft (Part fourth, ll.26-8).

In a conversation with Malchus, she acknowledge her emotional state:

....I am burst with ire,

Weep, and exclaim, and sharply reprehend,

But no relief by wrath or tears I gain,

For all my words are scattered by the wind (Part fourth, ll.55-8).

This portrait of the Queen coupled with her sentiments on the nature of government confirm her role as a tyrant figure. This is illustrated for example in the 2nd part ll.43ff. where the Queen advocates the destruction of a ruler's foes. She argues against a leader displaying mildness, especially with regard to John the Baptist:

Take heed that lenity's deceitful looks

Draw not your mind from equity: what seems

Afar off, mildness, to one near at hand

Will be the greatest wildness (Part second, ll.42-5).

A discussion of the political question of the security of the crown is employed to reveal Herod's tyrannical nature. He decides to consent to his wife's and daughter's wishes for the death of John the Baptist in order to prevent the potential usurper from seizing his power. The decision is not reached in a moment of passion- it is a reasoned choice between satisfying the desires of the people and the safekeeping of his authority. He concludes that the favour of the masses is not constant, and thus he resolves to resort to violent means:

.....Joy and wrath

The people rashly take and rashly leave.

'Tis now my resolution to confirm

The royal power that I hold with blood;

The vulgar will be easily appeased (Part second, ll.247-51).

Herod betrays his nature as an oppressor when he utters sentiments on the relationship between a ruler and his subjects. He expresses the authoritarian belief that the people should regard their leader as a being outside of the law:

.....and let the people know

This one law to be kept, that they may think

All things to me are lawful without law (Part second, ll. 273-5).

[for tyrant and tyrannical maxims see also ll.353-7, 361-8, 371-3].

299-300 O unreuenged: after gilts/ so greate, and brothers guyle:

Atreus voices, with great verbal energy, his dissatisfaction that he has not avenged the injuries that his brother has perpetrated against him.

The views of the Renaissance moralists and philosophers on revenge cannot be said to present an accurate account of popular belief. The majority of contemporary arguments against revenge are given a Christian perspective. Francis Bacon (1560) in his essay *Of Revenge* offers a basic insight into the moral stance on revenge.[94] He observes that revenge is the duty of God and that man is forbidden to effect revenge. Cleaver in *A plaine and familiar exposition of the ten commandments* (1614) attempts to dissuade man from revenge by suggesting that the revenger deprives himself of God's protection, for:

..he promiseth no shelter, neither do his Angels watch over him that is out of his wayes.[95]

Downame's *Treatise of Anger* (1609) defines revenge, within a Christian framework, in terms of its physical effects and its association with anger.[96]References to Biblical figures and events are employed by Downame to illustrate that avenging a wrong constitutes incorrect behaviour. Thus, on page thirteen he comments that Christ has told that if

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[94]Bacon, F., [1597] , ed. Kiernan, M., (1985), *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (Harvard).

[95]Cleaver, (1614), *A Treatise upon the ten commandments. A plaine & familiar exposition of the ten commandements. With a methodicall short catechisme* : ed.1618:p.267.

[96]Downame, J.,(1609), *A treatise of anger. Wherin is shewed the lawfull, laudable, and necessarie use of iust and holy anger...And afterwards is declared, what corrupt and uniust anger is, etc.* : p.3.

one receives a blow that one should turn the other cheek. This example reveals that the disciples should refrain from private vengeance:

We should refraine from priuate reuenge, without any calling thereunto, which he would haue so farre from vs, that rathen we should be ready to receiue a new iniurie, then vnjustly reuenge that which we haue receiued.[97]

Downame cites Romans 12.19 to show that revenge belongs to God or to a Magistrate, the Lord's Deputy.

In Timothie Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) one finds revenge listed as a sin. He comments that revenge is offered by the devil to the depressed.[98]

Edwin Sandys in *The Sermons* (1585) attempts to dissuade men from exacting revenge.[99] He suggests that the revenger is to be abhorred because he employs his own malevolence in order to avenge another's maliciousness. The revenger's actions prevent him from receiving forgiveness and the justice that the avenger seeks.

These comments fail to acknowledge that the Elizabethan man was driven by a code of honour which dictated that man had the right to exact private justice for any personal injury. The concept of revenge as an integral part of man's nature is captured in Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles* (1575)- to man *nothing is more sweete than the passion of revenge*.[100]

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[97]ibid.:pp. 13-4.

[98]Bright, T.,[1596], *A treatise of melancholie. Containing the causes thereof...with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as have thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience, etc.*:(Facsimile Text Society reprint N.Y. 1940):p. 228.

[99]Sandys, E.,(1585), *Sermons made by the most reverende Father in God, Edwin, Archbishop of York etc.* (London).

[100] Fenton, G.,(1575), *Golden Epistles. Contayning varietie of discourse, both morall, philosophicall, and divine:gathered, as well out of the remaynder of Guevaris works, as other author Latine, French and Italian* (London).

One should also consider Francis Bacon's essay *Of Revenge* (first edition published 1597)[101] because it presents the reader with a balanced account of contemporary belief concerning private revenge. [102]The tone of the essay is not totally condemnatory- he measures and assesses the matter under consideration, indicating the burden and benefits of each. Bacon does offer an account of revenge actions that will solicit varying degrees of sympathy - for example, he would sympathise with a son who sought to avenge the murder of his father but he would flatly condemn it. He discusses revenge in terms of a form of *Wilde Iustice* that should be obtained by recourse to the law:

Revenge is a kinde of Wilde Justice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the Revenge of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office (lines 3-6).

This description of justice as something fit for the wilderness reflects the perverted form of the justice of revenge that is depicted on the Elizabethan stage. The essay promotes restraint for he narrates that the act of revenge may make the avenger equal to his enemy, but that the act of pardon can make one superior to the foe (lines 7-9). One should consider that this composition precedes his efforts in support of King James' attempts to suppress duels of honour. Bacon aided the King by indicting Lord Sanquire in 1612 for organising a revenge murder; by subscribing to a declaration against duels (15th October 1613); by printing his *Charge touching Duels* (1614).[103] Bacon does suggest that revenge is justifiable on certain grounds- namely, when there is no law to punish the crime:

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[101]Bacon, op.cit..
[102]Patrick, J.M.,(1961), *Francis Bacon* :pp.7-39 on Bacon's life and literary achievements.
[103]Kiernan, op.cit..

The most Tolerable sort of Revenge, is for those/ wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: but then, let a man/ take heed, the Revenge be such, as there is no law to punish:/ Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for/ one (lines 20-4).

The theme of revenge is constantly reiterated in early modern drama, where one sees a remodelling of many of the motifs that can be found in Seneca's *Thyestes* - the ghost, the mutilation, the passionate revenger, excessive cruelty, the role of the deity and the cannibalistic feast [see ll.1-240 for the ghost; for cannibalism and cruelty see ll.1050-1381 and 1478-1883]. Tantalus is dissimilar to a large proportion of the ghosts in early modern revenge drama because he is not presented as a vengeful ghost. The depiction of violence in Seneca would have been compatible with the Elizabethan's appetite for violence- daring to break the constraints and depict the unthinkable. Seneca did not give violence to the Elizabethans- he merely showed them a method of presenting and treating it.

It is difficult to determine whether the *Thyestes* as a revenge tragedy played a significant role in forming the early revenge tragedies or whether the play fitted into the early modern pattern. An analysis of the structure of the *Thyestes* reveals a form, against which one can compare revenge tragedies such as Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589; printed without date in 1592).[104] This exercise may answer certain questions concerning the influence of the *Thyestes* on revenge tragedy of the early modern period. One should consider the Kydian conception of the revenge play because it exerted a high level of influence on English revenge drama up to the publication of *The Revenger's Tragedy* in 1607. The influence of the Kydian form is still evident in Tourneur's play. The basic form is the

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[104]Bowers, op.cit.:pp.67ff.

same- the revenger seeks vengeance for the death of a loved one, the avenger feels justified in his actions, there is a delay motif.[105]

Seneca utilises the opening act to describe the nature of the catastrophe. The second act presents the protagonist conversing with a confidant. In the third act the revenger confronts the object towards which his vengeance is directed. The fourth act serves to delay the action and in the final act one sees the climax of the revenge plan completed. Examination of the formal aspect of *The Spanish Tragedy* betrays a more complex structure. Initially, the structures appear similar for Kyd's play opens with an exploration of Bel-Imperia's grief at the news of the loss of her lover. In act two Kyd departs from the Senecan pattern by introducing a second revenger. Hieronimo expresses his desire to pursue the murderers of his son and Bel-Imperia's desire for vengeance fades into the background. The lull in the action is provided in the third act with the discovery of the letter and in the fourth act the revenge action and the play are brought to completion.

The depiction of the acts that are undertaken by Seneca's Atreus and the revengers of early modern drama reveal that the revenger possesses no control over his being or over the events that he will generate. Blood revenge for murder, injury or jealousy is common in Seneca. In *Agamemnon* Clytemnestra avenges the death of her daughter, in *Hippolytus* Theseus seeks vengeance for the supposed rape of his wife, and in *Thyestes* Atreus is motivated by the seduction of his wife by his own brother.

A brief examination of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587), *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589; printed without date in 1592), *Titus Andronicus* (1590), *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2), *Antonio's Revenge* (1599), *The*

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[105]Middleton/Tourneur, [1607], *The Revenger's Tragedy* , ed.Foakes (Manchester 1996).

Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois (c.1610-11), *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607) reveals that there are certain common objectives that these revengers are aiming to achieve. They seek vengeance either to strengthen their self-respect, or to secure their own physical protection, or to uphold their reputations, or to pursue justice. These revengers, unlike the Senecan avenger, live in a world where the concept of justice, however corrupt, still exists.[106] This is illustrated in Elizabethan revenge tragedies by the emphasis on the punishment of perpetrators of crime. The failure of the judicial system and divine justice are central to the revenge plot, for their shortcomings offer the victim the opportunity to be entrusted with undoing a wrong. These revengers, unlike the revengers of Senecan tragedy, are not presented as villains at the outset- in general, they are introduced as individuals with a sacred duty to exact vengeance. This in turn, means that the audience's feelings of tenderness for the avenger are never absent- he eliminates the source of the crime and because he punishes the perpetrator he remains a man of honour.

The discussion of the moral taint of the avenger prompts an examination of the anti-heroes in Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy* (1609) and Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) [for further comment on the ending of Marston's play see ll.1884-2007 of the text].[107] In Marston's play the revengers Antonio and Pandulpho are not punished; and in Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy* the revenger Charlemont succeeds by not adopting the role of the revenger. Marston presents the increasing madness of the hero, Antonio, as he is overwhelmed by the desire for revenge; and Pandulpho's surrender of reason to passion. Both these villainous figures serve as symbols of injustice and are in some respect

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[106]see Hunter, G.K., (1967), 'Seneca and English Tragedy in *Seneca* : ed.Costa (London,1974):pp.176ff..

[107]ed. used, Tourneur, C., (1976), *The Atheist's Tragedy: ed. by B.Morris and R.Gill* (London).

above the law, and thus unaffected by punishment. It appears that the playwright was more fascinated with revenge rather than with the act of retribution. Marston fails to persuade the audience that Antonio and Pandulpho are worthy of veneration. Pandulpho and Antonio are not invested with the spirit of repentance which would have endeared them to the audience for their decision to enter the monastery does not suggest a sense of moral guilt. Even though the actions of the avengers have profited society, they were tainted. The unsatisfactory nature of this dramatic decision may be the result of the playwright's inability to comprehend the implications of revenge and his failure to explain the passion; or, the result of the difficulty for a Christian of conceiving that a good man can be destroyed by evil or can fight evil with evil.

Tourneur's presentation of the honest man's revenge in *The Atheist's Tragedy* is neither creditable nor pitiable, and thus we view Charlemont as an anti-hero. It is difficult for the dramatist to discover ways to make the non-avenger an individual with whom the audience could empathize for the audience had become used to heroes who adopted the role of the revenger as a sacred duty. Tourneur's answer to this predicament is to have Charlemont dismiss from his mind the ghost's order to attack D'Amville and Sebastian, and to spend a considerable amount of time in prison. The latter succeeds in keeping Charlemont passive and provides the opportunity for Heaven to exact revenge against the atheist, D'Amville. The slaughter of D'Amville resolves the plot, and reveals God's power to intervene to protect the innocent and to annnihilate the wicked. Tourneur's play represents the first example in which the playwright dramatises the Christian doctrine that revenge is forbidden, and thus in *The Atheist's Tragedy* the audience sees the revenger released from the compulsion for action. The Christian ideology articulated in the play is that revenge for heinous actions should be

reserved for God. This is expressed by the ghost of Charlemont's father when he appears to his son to advocate Christian patience rather than revenge:

Attend with patience the success of things,

But leave revenge unto the King of kings (II.vi.21-2).

However, this is not to suggest that the play is a religious treatise. It represents a new form of the revenge play, in which the avenger is triumphant and not destroyed for his vengeance.

In attempting to evaluate the role of the *Thyestes* within the canon of Elizabethan revenge tragedy, an important text is *The Misfortunes of Arthur* . In the section on the Senecan tradition in England that has already been presented, there is a high level of quotations from the *Thyestes* in the play [see ll.85-6 The Preface]. In the play one finds the Senecan motifs of ghost, adultery, the working out of the revenge plot [for theme of adultery see ll.413-4] . In the opening scene of the play the ghost of Gorlois appears to seek justice for the loss of his wife and his Dukedom (ll.43ff.):

..let Mordreds death declare,

Let Arthurs fatall wounde bewray the wrong (1.1.ll.46-7).

His revenge comes to fruition in the second scene of the fourth act - the Messenger narrates that Mordred threw himself upon Arthur's sword:

.....So saying forth he flings,

And desperate runs on point of Arthurs Sword (4.2.ll.217-8).

The theme of adultery is closely tied, as in the *Thyestes*, with the theme of revenge. Gueneuora's violation of her marriage vows prompts Arthur to seek revenge, and her love for Mordred causes her to consider the issue of revenge. The latter is contemplated in act one scene two (ll.45ff). She appears as the modern Senecan revenger- she incites the powers of blackest hell (ll.39-40.) and describes the strength of the passion that

overwhelms her (II.40ff.). Gueneuora decides to spare the life of Arthur and resolves to take her own life (1.3.67ff.).

In Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* one sees the playwright attempting to create a popular form of revenge tragedy. The play features the Senecan motifs of the ghost, the passionate revenger and violence, but they are transformed by the playwright to serve the purpose of his revenge play. The creation of multiple revengers signals the main dissimilarity with the *Thyestes*. Kyd adds an extra layer of complexity to the revenge motif by presenting the audience with multiple revengers- Hieronimo and Bel-Imperia. The latter seeks revenge for the death of Andrea and her second lover. Her personal desire is secondary to her role in helping to incite Hieronimo to revenge.

The central revenger, Hieronimo, seeks private vengeance because the legal system fails him.[108] In act three scene twelve lines 1-110, Hieronimo undertakes to procure his legal rights but his instability when questioned leads the King to refuse him recourse to the law. In act two Hieronimo initially appears resolute in his desire to avenge his son's death but this determination soon wavers:

See'st thou this handkercher besmear'd with blood?

It shall not from me, till I take revenge.

See'st thou those wounds that yet are bleeding fresh?

I'll not entomb them, till I have reveng'd.

Then will I joy amidst my discontent;

Till then my sorrow never shall be spent (2.5.II.51-6).

This fluctuation serves to illustrate Hieronimo's continual state of flux of the revenger- the constant faltering between madness and delay.[109] His

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[108]Hallett, and Hallett, op.cit. :pp. 131ff. discusses the role of justice in the play.

[109]ibid.:pp.148ff. discusses Hieronimo's erratic behaviour.

sense of duty to exact vengeance is reiterated in the opening speech of act three scene thirteen. Hieronimo employs a popular Senecan *sententia* from the *Agamemnon* in order to clarify his belief that when a crime is committed against a good man that revenge should be immediate:

Per scelus semper tutum est sceleribus iter (3.13.6).

It is interesting to note that this corrupted Seneca line follows a reference to Romans 12:17-19:

Vindicta mihi!

Ay, heaven will be revenged of every ill;

Nor will they suffer murder unrepaid. (3.13.1-3).

This progression of quotations reveals that Kyd regarded Seneca as a moral authority on the same level as the Bible. [see l.449 of text for further reference to the tendency to assimilate Seneca with the Christian tradition].

The ghost of Andrea returns to earth to seek revenge for his cruel murder and he sees his wish being realised as the play progresses. Kyd, unlike Seneca, does not confine his ghost to the opening scene but uses the spirit together with the personification of the abstraction of revenge as the Chorus. This ghost, like Seneca's Tantalus, does not come into contact with the avenger. Bel-Imperia is used by the playwright to resolve the problem concerning communication between the two worlds. Murder will feature in the revenge action that will avenge the wrongs that Andrea has suffered. Revenge, in his speech at the close of the opening scene, offers a synopsis of this revenge action:

Then know, Andrea, that thou art arriv'd

Where thou shalt see the author of thy death,

Don Balthazar, the prince of Portingal,

Depriv'd of life by Bellimperia (1.1. 86-9).

One should consider whether Seneca and Kyd attempted to depict on the stage the irrational powers that lie behind passion, and thus one views the ghost of Tantalus in the *Thyestes*, and the ghost of Andrea and the illusory ghost of Horatio in Hieronimo's hallucination.

In *Titus Andronicus* there is a development of the Senecan motifs of the cannibalistic feast and the passionate revenger [for cannibalism see ll.1322-4 and 1332-3]. Titus's desire for vengeance is a response to the injuries that have been inflicted upon his family. In 4.1. Marcus leads the audience to believe that Titus believed calmness and restraint to be a virtuous man's revenge :

But yet so just that he will not revenge (4.1.1.128).[110]

The news of Lavinia's rape prompts Titus to imagine himself to be the learned revenger- he tells Lavinia and Demetrius that *worse than Progne I will be reveng'd* (5.2.1.196). The cannibalistic feast forms the main element of Titus' revenge.

It is hard to ascertain whether the feast alludes to Seneca's literary tale of the house of Atreus or to Ovid's account of the rape of Philomela. Cunliffe (1893) was largely responsible for the association between the *Thyestes* and *Titus Andronicus* . This connection is expressed by his failure to acknowledge Ovid. The analysis of the cannibalistic feast is discussed further in Boyle (1997). In his study, he suggests that Shakespeare's debt to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is awkwardly displayed.[111] He feels that Shakespeare rewrites the pervading motifs of the demise of the antagonism between 'civilisation' and 'savagery' that are present in the *Thyestes*; and cites the imitation of the images of sacrifice and devouring food as evidence of his Senecanism. The counter argument, which is

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[110]this and all subsequent references to Shakespeare, The Globe Edition, ed.Clark, W.J., and Wright, W.A., (London, 1938).

[111] Boyle, (1997), op.cit.: p.148 for comment on Shakespeare's debt in his Senecan plays to Ovid.

proposed by this thesis, is endorsed in Waith (1957) and Bate (1995).[112] The former offers a convincing account of the Ovidian influence, using as its point of departure the fact that the references in *Titus Andronicus* to the Philomela story reveal the playwright's familiarity with Ovid's narrative. The similarity of the themes of the merits of friendship and righteous government are traced in the two authors, and their mutual preoccupation with the rhetoric of moments of intense emotion. Bate's argument also centres on an emphasis on the Ovidianism of Shakespeare's play. However, unlike the evaluation in this commentary, there is a conscious neglect of the Elizabethan playwright's debt to Seneca. The present discussion will benefit, to a degree, if we consider that the Senecan cannibalistic motif is a rewrite of the Ovidian account of the Philomela-Procne-Tereus story.[113] [for further examination of Ovid's influence on *Titus Andronicus* see ll.1322-4 of the text].

In *Titus Andronicus* the revenge action does not centre on a single protagonist but on three individuals- Tamora, Titus and Aaron. This division serves to add an extra layer of complexity to the revenge theme. Tamora seeks justice for the death of Alarbus. Her initial desire for revenge is met with the rape of Lavinia in the second act. The rape is subordinate to her attack on Titus through his sons- they are accused and condemned for murder.

Tamora impersonates the allegorical figure of revenge (5.2.11.30ff.):

I am Revenge: sent from the infernal kingdom,

To ease the gnawing vulture of thy mind,

By working wreakful vengeance on thy foes (5.2.11.30-2).

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[112]Waith, E.M., (1957), The Metamorphosis of Violence in Titus Andronicus. *Shakespeare Survey* : pp.39-50; Bate, J.A., (1995), *Titus Andronicus* (London and New York).

[113]Boyle, (1997), op.cit. p.148 n.27.

The lines portray Tamora in terms of the Senecan ghost- rising from the Underworld, and rejoicing in the ability to produce chaos and destruction.

The revenge theme features in *Tancred and Gismund* . In the play there are echoes of the Senecan motifs of the ardent revenger and mutilation [for mutilation see ll.1325-9] . The prose *Argumentum* reveals at lines 38ff. the nature of the revenge plot- the union between Gismunda and her lover forces her father to apply himself to a *more couenient reuenge* (l.44) . Tancred calls on the Furies to aid him in obtaining his revenge upon the lovers:

Oh could I stampe, and therewithall commaund
Armies of Furies to assist my heart,
To prosecute due vengeance on their soules (ll.971-3).

This reference to the Furies makes one recall the association that is established in the opening act of the *Thyestes* between revenge and the fury, Megaera.

The traditional association between revenge and justice is voiced by Tancred in act four scene three (ll.1139ff.):

And Iustice vrgeth some extreame reuenge,
To wreake the wrongs that haue been offred vs (ll.1139-40).

The mutilation motif features in the climax of Tancred's revenge plan- in act five scene two the heart of the Earl is presented to Gismunda in a golden cup. This act creates a second revenger- Gismunda seeks justice for the murder of Guishard (ll.1673-4). She resolves to take her own life in order to satisfy her desire for revenge (ll.1679ff.):

This venomd water shall abridge thy life,
This for the same intent prouided I,
Which can both ease and end this raging strife (ll.1679-81).

In *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) one sees a relatively honourable man battling with his desire for revenge. In the play one sees the shadow of the

Senecan revenge motifs of the passionate revenger, the ghost, adultery, the mutilation of a corpse and the cannibalistic feast [see ll.413-4 for theme of adultery, and for cannibalistic feast see 1322-4]. The currency of the Thyestean story is attested by the numerous quotations that appear in Marston' play. There are multiple revengers in the play. Piero is depicted at the start of the tragedy as the triumphant avenger. In act one scene one Piero narrates that jealousy prompted him to seek revenge- Andrugio had won Maria's favour and had a son with her:

He won the lady, to my honor's death,
And from her sweets cropp'd this Antonio;
For which I burn'd in inward swelt'ring hate,
And fester'd rankling malice in my breast,
Till I might belk revenge upon his eyes (1.1.ll.25-9).

In act three scene one the ghost of the murdered ruler returns to demand revenge for murder at the hands of Piero (3.1.ll.1ff.). The ghost of Andrugio incites Antonio to *Seize on revenge , grasp the stem-bended front/ Of frowning vengeance with impeised clutch* (3.1.ll.45-6). The quotation from the *Thyestes* at line 50 reveals the playwright's appreciation of Seneca's *sententia* on the nature of the excess of revenge: *Scelera non ulcisceris, nisi vincis.*

Antonio's decision to seek vengeance is made partly out of fear of the reprisals that he will suffer if he fails to avenge his father's death (3.1.ll.85ff.).

Marston's ghost, unlike Seneca's Tantalus, speaks directly to the avengers. This alteration serves to heighten theatrical effect and to strengthen the power of the ghost- the ghost introduces revenge and implants revenge into the heart of the avenger. The ghost of Andrugio attempts to turn Maria into a revenger- in act three scene two he tells her to join with Antonio in the revenge action:

Join with my son to bend up strain'd revenge (3.2.1.73).

The playwright's use of quotations from the *Thyestes* casts Antonio in the role of the Senecan avenger. The playwright may have utilised the Senecan lines to add authority to his revenge tragedy. Antonio's revenge plan comes to completion in act five scene three when he stabs Piero for his *father's blood* (5.3.1.109).

In *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* numerous characters seek justice for the death of Bussy d'Ambois. In Chapman's play there are traces of the Senecan motifs of the ghost and the passionate revenger. Clermont's wish to avenge his brother's death prevents him from standing as a spokesperson for Stoicism. The nature of his plan for revenge is disclosed by Baligny in the opening scene of the play- at lines 83ff. Baligny tells that he is responsible for delivering Clermont's challenge to the Earl:

And undertake himself Bussy's revenge;
Yet loathing any way to give it act,
But in the noblest and most manly course,
If th'Earl dares take it, he resolves to send
A challenge to him, and myself must bear it (1.1.11.88-92).

Chapman's ghost, unlike Seneca's Tantalus, speaks directly to the avenger. This direct contact continues to develop the dramatic potentiality of the ghost. The motif of the ghost appears in act five scene one- the shade of Bussy encourages Clermont to accept the role of avenger. The ghost advises Clermont to use all the means at his disposal to right the wrong that he has suffered (ll.96ff.):

Away, then! Use the means thou hast to right
The wrong I suffer'd (ll.96-7).

Clermont's revenge plan comes to completion in act five scene five when Montsurry falls.

Tamyra also wishes to avenge the death of Bussy, her beloved. Her association with vengeance is revealed in her opening speech in act one scene two- in lines 1ff. she calls on revenge to enter. Tamyra's desire for revenge discloses the tie between justice and revenge in lines 7ff.:

..... And, though length of time
Never lets any scape thy constant justice,
Yet now prevent that length (1.2.ll.7-9).

One should note that the name Tamyra is similar in sound to Tamora- this may indicate that this cognomen was a tragic name, or that the name was utilised in order to echo Shakespeare. Renel in the opening scene expresses the belief that justice should be meted out for Bussy's death, but he does not offer to avenge the death of Bussy (1.1.ll.76-7). Renel's comments prompt Baligny to reveal that he offered to revenge his brother's death in order to gain the hand of the woman that he loves:

My brother Bussy's sister, now my wife,
By no suit would consent to satisfy
My love of her with marriage, till I vow'd,
To use my utmost to revenge my brother (1.1.ll.79-82).

Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607/8) features certain of the characteristics that one finds in Seneca's revenge tragedy- mutilation, the passion of the revenger, excessive cruelty, the association between revenge and adultery [for discussion of theme of adultery see ll.413-4]. Tourneur's tragedy plays a significant role in the development of revenge tragedy for it marks a shift towards the creation of a more realistic psychology for the revenger. Thus, he explores the effect of the revenge action on the personality of the avenger.

There are three major revenge plots in the play- Vindice's attempt to avenge himself upon the Duke, Vindice seeking revenge upon Lussurioso, Antonio pursuing revenge for the rape of his wife. Vindice's

actions form a substantial element of the action in the play, and Antonio's plot is relatively undeveloped in the play. The Duchess' desire to be revenged upon her husband forms a lesser revenge plot. The play's focus on multiple revengers is indicated in the title page of 1608 edition for there is no apostrophe in the title.

The meaning of the cognomen Vindice is captured when Lussurioso reveals that he has forgotten Vindice's name (act four scene two lines 176ff.) . The two characters play on the connotations of the name:

Lussurioso: *Thy name, I have forgot it.*

Vindice: *Vindice, my lord.*

Lussurioso: *'Tis a good name, that .*

Vindice: *Ay, a revenger* (II.4.2.II.176-7).

Thus, the playwright makes a pun on *vindex*- a *revenger of wrongs and abuses, one that restores and sets at liberty or out of danger.*[114]

At lines 31ff. of the opening scene Vindice reveals that he is seeking justice for the death of his beloved- she was poisoned by the Duke because she would not succumb to his advancements. Vindice is unlike the revengers in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge* because the playwright begins the narrative after he has already committed himself to the task of exacting revenge. Vindice at line 39ff. narrates that vengeance is the punishment for murder- for *....who e'er knew/ Murder unpaid?* (1.1.II.42-3). The revenge plan begins to reach fruition when the Duke kisses the skull that has been tainted with poison (s.d. 146: act three scene five). This poison causes the gradual demise of the Duke- for example, at line 161 he comments that his *teeth are eaten out*.

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[114]definition in Florio, J., (1598), *A Worlde of Wordes* (London).

The adulterous liaison between the Duchess and Spurio forms the focus of the Duchess ' revenge on her husband for his refusal to spare her son (1.2.ll.94-117):

And therefore wedlock faith shall be forgot.

I'll kill him in his forehead, hate there feed;

That wound is deepest, though it never bleed (1.2.ll.107-9).

The Duchess persuades Spurio to enter into a relationship with her by referring to the Duke's refusal to offer him a place in the *dukedom's ring* (1.2.l.150). One should consider whether there is any justice in this act of adultery- revenge may have served merely as an excuse for the Duchess to air her lustful feelings for the bastard son.[115] Spurio agrees to violate the marriage bed of his father:

Aye, there's the vengeance that my birth was wrapped in.

I'll be revenged for all; now hate begin;

I'll call foul incest but a venial sin (1.2.ll.168-170).

The behaviour of the Duchess forms a distinct contrast with the chaste wife of Antonio. Antonio and Piero comment on her purity in act one scene four- at line six Piero calls her *That virtuous lady!* (1.4.l.6) , and in the same line Antonio refers to her as a *Precedent for wives!* (1.4.l.6) .

The play also features the revengers Ambitioso and Supervacuo. They seek justice for the death of their brother. The mutilation motif plays a role in turning Ambitioso into a revenger. The presentation of the head of Spurio turns Ambitioso's thoughts from grief to vengeance (3.6.ll.91ff.):

Well, no more words, 'shalt be revenged i'faith.

Come, throw off clouds now, brother, think of vengeance,

And deeper settled hate (3.6.ll.91-3).

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[115]Hallett and Hallett, op.cit.: pp.226ff.

They are deprived of the satisfaction of completing their revenge, because when they arrive in a masque of intended murderers in act five scene three, the nobles have already been murdered. These multiple murders emphasise the excessive cruelty that characterises revenge tragedies.

Neo-Latin drama of the period should be considered because it is usually consigned to a footnote by writers. The material is difficult to consult and an element of it has been lost. The Latin drama of the period 1550-1650 is mainly written by University men. Their products reflect the current trends of the time- the canon includes revenge plays, Roman histories and pastorals. The Latin dramas reveal important details on contemporary dramatic hypothesis and educational programmes. These literary products should be explored because they served to anticipate the types of vernacular dramas that were composed.

The Senecan motifs of the ghost, mutilation and the cannibalistic feast are imitated in William Goldingham's *Herodes* (composed c.1570/80). The play explores the desire of the ghost of Mariemma to secure justice because she feels that she was wrongly injured. In the play, the interaction between fate and divine and personal vengeance is investigated.[116] The ghost of Mariemma, Herod's dead wife, introduces the revenge motif at lines 20-51. She prays to the Furies for help to avenge her own death and that of her brother:

Vos o profundae noctis infoelix cohors,

Aduersa caelo numina, et tristes Deu,

Adeste precor, et [m/in] gite ultrices gradus (ll.20-3).

Goldingham reiterates Seneca's association between the Furies and revenge. Revenge is to be achieved in two ways- she will cause Antipater to plot against Herod and to perish at his father's sword, and this in turn

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[116]Goldingham, W.,[1561], *Herodes* ed. Upton, C. (Zurich: N.Y., 1988). Biographical summary p.10.

will make Herod take his own life (ll.52-72). The spirit's plan is shown to be coming to fruition in the second act. At lines 349-71, Antipater confesses to his prison warder that he attempted to poison his father, and at lines 447-59, he narrates that if Herod fails to kill him he will murder Herod. The news of the deaths of Doris and Antipater reported by the Messenger in the fifth acts signals the completion of the first part of the spirit's plan, for Herod is now bereft of his family. The mansucript is incomplete- thus, it is difficult to determine the outcome of the revenge plot. At lines 1333-45 Herod pronounces his determination to pass through death's door and thus, it is assumed that Herod will soon meet with his end.

Herod also appears in Buchanan's *Baptistes* (1577) and in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613). This discloses that the historical as well as the scriptural Herod was a recognisable figure for contemporary audiences.

The elements of the *Thyestes* such as the appearance of the ghost, the plotting of revenge, adultery, the mutilation of corpses and the ritual of the cannibalistic feast are remodelled in William Alabaster's *Roxana* (play performed in 1591/2, and revised and published in 1632) [for motif of cannibalism see ll.1322-4].[117] Alabaster's references to the legend of the house of Atreus lead one to conclude that these motifs are the result of Senecan influence, direct or indirect. Alabaster's days at Cambridge would have offered him the opportunity to come into contact with the tragedies of Seneca [see ll.79-81 The Preface]. [118]At the start of the play the ghost of Moleon rises from the Underworld to seek just vengeance (ll.4-18) for his downfall and murder (ll.77-150). He narrates that Pluto has allotted Moleon one day to achieve his revenge (ll.20-36). Moleon wishes to avenge himself on Oromasdes and Roxana and enlists the help of

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117 Alabaster, W., [1632], *Roxana* , ed. Coldewey, J.C., and Copenhaver, B.P., (Zurich: N.Y.).
118ibid.: pp. 7-8 for Alabaster's academic career.

Suspicion to effect his vengeance (ll.157-65). In act two Moleon's plan to be avenged on Roxana begins to blossom- Bessus' presentation of evidence to Atossa concerning the affair of the King with Roxana causes Atossa to order Bessus to take the lives of Roxana and her children (ll.564-98). Atossa closes the scene with a vow to exact unparalleled vengeance:

.....hoc major mihi incumbit dolor,
Furorque major, dummodo hoc peius scelus
Nascatur, omne sceleris exemplum supra (ll.637-9).

The Messenger in act four narrates the completion of Atossa's revenge on Roxana. Atossa is also instrumental in effecting the revenge upon Oromasdes. She reveals that her revenge is to take the form of a cannibalistic feast and a cup of poisoned wine (ll.1376-82). This plan is brought to completion in scene four of the final act.

327-9 Goe to, do that whiche neuer shall/ no after age allowe,/ Nor none it whisht:

Atreus employs the dramatic device of self-address in order to incite himself to act (l.191-2. *Age anime, fac quod nulla posteritas probet,/ Sed nulla taceat*). Hughes offers his own translation of these lines in 1.1. of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587):

Goe to: some fact, which no age shall allowe,
Nor yet conceale (1.1.ll.27-8).

[for lines translated by Hughes see ll.85-6 The Preface].

These lines of self-address and self-dramatisation lead naturally to a discussion of T.S.Eliot's pioneering essay *Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca* (1932). His examination of Shakespeare's plays reveals that the self-dramatisation present in the tragedies at intense moments is derived from his awareness of Seneca and Roman Stoicism. He cites Othello's (*Othello* completed by the end of 1603) final speech as an example of tragic

intensity in which a character expresses his weaknesses and attempts to uplift his spirits:

Soft you; a word ot two before you go.

I have done the state some service, and they know't.

No more of that. I pray you, in your letters,

When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,

Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,

Nor set down aught in malice: then must you speak

Of one that loved not wisely but too well;

Of one not easily jealous, but being wrought

Perplex'd in the extreme; of one whose subdued eyes,

Albeit unused to the melting mood,

Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees

Their medicinal gum. (5.2.11.338-51).

Eliot refers to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (first appeared in print in a quarto edition of 1603) and Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614) as further examples of a contemporaneous interest in self-consciousness. In Boyle's essay (1997), he develops Eliot's emphasis on bombast as a mode of self-dramatisation, and on the Renaissance meditative soliloquy and its relationship to Seneca's monologues of self-reflection. He refers to the works of Marston, Kyd, Shakespeare, Webster and Tourneur in order to reveal that this technique was a building block of Renaissance drama. The focus of his discussion centres on monologues of self-address in which a character speaks to his/her passions or to individual pieces of their body-for example, he quotes lines from Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1599):

Heart, wilt not break? And thou, abhorred life,

Wilt thou still breathe in my enraged blood?

Veins, sinews, arteries, why crack ye not,

Burst and divuls'd with anguish of my grief? (1.1.1-4).

Boyle suggests that the lines heading this present discussion set a precedent for Marston's mode of address and for the verbalisations of pain presented by Othello and Lear (1st quarto of *King Lear* appeared in 1608 and the second in 1619)- for example, Lear exlaims *Down, thy climbing sorrow* (II.iv.l.58), and Othello addresses his love in III.iii:

Yield up, O love, thy crown and hearted throne
To tyrannous hate! Swell, bosom, with thy fraught,
For 'tis of aspics' tongues! (III.iii.ll.448-50).

This evidence reveals that the Elizabethan meditative perception of the self was deeply indebted to Seneca's depiction of the pyschology of the individual.

329-33 ...some mischefe greate/ there must be ventred nowe,/ Bothe fierce and bloudie: suche as wolde/ my brother rather long/ To haue byn his:

Atreus expresses his wish to perform an act of revenge that his brother would desire to enact (l.192-4. *aliquod audendum est nefas/ Atrox, cruentum, tale, quod frater meus/ Suum esse malit*). In 1.2. Hughes in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) renders Seneca's lines into English, substituting the name Mordred for *frater*:

Attempt some bloodie, dreadfull, irkesome fact,
And such as Mordred would were rather his (1.2.ll.8-9).

[for lines translated by Hughes see ll.85-6 The Preface].

333-5 Thou neuer dooste/ enoughe reuenge the wrong,/ Except thou passe:

The emotional force of these lines discloses Atreus' desire to exceed (l.195.*vincis*) any revenge that his brother can exact. This *sententia* on the nature of revenge appears in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) [for Marston's

use of Seneca's lines see ll.85-6 The Preface]. The ghost of Andrugio reproduces Seneca's Latin in 3.1. in an attempt to encourage his son to seek vengeance:

Scelera non ulcisceris, nisi vincis (3.1.1.51).

Shakespeare captures this sense of transcending the bounds of revenge in *Hamlet* 3.3.1.79 (1601). Hamlet does not seize the opportunity to stab Claudius whilst he is praying because he wants to be sure of damning him as a bonus:

A villain kills my father; and for that,

I, his sole son, do this same villain send

To heaven.

O, this is hire and salary, not revenge (3.3.ll.76-9).

349-51 He will destroy or be destroyde,/ in midst the mischiefe lies,/ Preparde to him that takes it first:

This *sententia* on the theme of revenge (ll.202-3. *Aut perdet, aut peribit: in medio est scelus/ Positum occupanti*) is rendered by Hughes into English in his *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587). Hughes conveys the the feeling of self-confidence that colours Atreus' lines:

He either must destroie, or be destroide.

The mischiefe's in the midst: catch he that can (2.3.ll.141-2).

[for lines translated by Hughes see ll.85-6 The Preface].

353-7 The greatest good/ of kyngdome may be thought,/ That still the people are constraynde/ theyr princes deedes as well/ To praise, as them to suffer all:

Atreus' tyrannical maxim concerns the debasement of the virtue of free speech. Hughes offers a translation of these Senecan lines in 2.2. of his *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587):

Then is a kingdome at a wished staye,

When whatsoeuer the Souereigne wills, or nilles,

Men be compelde as well to praise, as beare (2.2.11.78-80).

This sentiment expressing the tyrant's belief that he possesses the power to pressurize his subjects is likewise reproduced in Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* act two (1603):

All modesty is fond: and chiefly where

The subject is no less compell'd to bear

Than praise his sovereign's acts

[for tyrant line and tyrannical maxims see 297-8; for Hughes' translation of Seneca's lines see 11.85-6 The Preface].

361-8 But who in deede the glory seekes/ of fauour true tobtayne,/ He rather wolde with harts of eche/ be praysde, then tongues of all./ The truer prayse full ofte hathe hapte/ to meaner men to fall:/ The false but unto mightie man./ what nill they, let them wyll:

This exchange between Atreus and the servant reveals that Atreus is content to receive insincere praise. Hughes' translation of these lines (11.208-11. *At qui fauoris gloriam veri petit,/ Animo magis, quam voce laudari volet./ Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro,/ Non nisi potenti falsa: quod nolunt, velint*) in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) captures Atreus' idea of adulation as a sign of his authority:

Conan: *But who so seekes true praise, and iust renowme,*

Would rather seeke their praysing heartes, then tongues.

Mordred: *True praise may happen to the basest groome,*

A forced prayse to none, but to a Prince.

I wish that most, that Subiects most repine (2.2.11.82-6).

[for tyrant and tyrannical maxims see 11.297-8].

369-73 Let first the kyng will honest thyngs,/ and none the same dare nyll./ Where leefull are to him that rules/ but honest thyngs alone,/ There raygnes the kyng by others leaue:

These lines from the stichomthyic dialogue form part of a conversation between the servant and Atreus on the relationship of a ruler towards his subjects (ll.212-4. *Rex velit honesta, nemo non eadem volet/ Vbicunque; tantum honesta dominanti licent,/ Precario regnatur*). Hughes' translation of the Senecan lines are spoken by Conan and Mordred in 1.4. of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587):

Conan: *The Kingliest point is to affect but right,*

Mordred: *Weake is the Scepters hold, that seekes but right* (1.4.ll.97-8).

[for Hughes' translation of Seneca's lines see ll.85-6 The Preface].

371-3 Where leefull are to him that rules/ but honest thyngs alone,/ There raygnes the kyng by others leaue:

Atreus' comment expresses a desire for total control. Piero in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) articulates the tyrant's wish for ultimate authority:

Where only honest deeds to kings are free

It is no empire, but a beggary (2.1.ll.119-120).

[for tyrant and tyrannical maxims see ll.297-8].

413-4 My spoused mate, the traytour false/ hathe hens conuayde awaie:

Atreus informs the servant that his wife was literally abducted by Thyestes. In the *Thyestes* the adultery motif is coupled with the revenge motif.

The tie between infidelity and revenge appears in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) [see ll.299-300]. In the first scene of the first act the vengeful

ghost Gorlois reveals his desire for Guenovera to betray her marriage vows:

Let Guenouer expresse what franticke moodes

Distract a wife, when wronging wedlockes rights,

Both fonde and fell, she loues and loathes at once (1.1.11.33-5).

The sanctity of the marriage bed is restored, for in act one scene four-Guenovera rejects her lover and expresses that *wedlock loue hath woonne* (1.4.1.24). She declares that she has reached this decision because she fears that her illicit liaison may threaten the throne (1.4.1.66). She illustrates this point by reference to the example of Paris and Helen because the seduction of Menelaus' wife caused Troy's downfall:

Looke backe to former Fates: Troy still had stoode,

Had not her Prince made light of wedlocks lore.

The vice, that threw downe Troy, doth threat thy Throne:

Take heede: there Mordred stands, whence Paris fell (1.4.11.64-7).

Marston explores the coupling of these themes in his *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). The adultery theme is established in act one scene two when Piero accuses his daughter Mellida of infidelity:

....she's unchaste,

Tainted, impure, black as the soul of hell (1.2.11.202-3).

In act two scene two the audience learns in a conversation between Antonio, Lucio and Alberto that Antonio has learnt that his beloved has been accused of being *light and stained with adulterous luxury* (2.2.11.23-4). It should be noted that Antonio and Mellida are not married- they are betrothed. Antonio cannot believe that this rumour is true (2.2.11.25). Mellida is offered the opportunity to protest her innocence (2.2.11.74f.). She appeals to Phoebe, the *chastest deity* (l.78), to judge her purity:

If I be false to my Antonio,

If the least soil of lust smears my pure love,

Make me more wretched, make me more accurs'd

Than infamy, torture, death, hell, and heaven

Can, bound with amplest power of thought; if not,

Purge my poor heart from defamation's blot (2.2.ll.79-84).

The ghost of Andrugio refers to this rumour concerning Mellida's supposed inconstancy in order to prompt Antonio to seek revenge on Piero, the murderer and Mellida's accuser:

I was empoison'd by Piero's hand;

Revenge my blood! Take spirit, gentle boy.

Revenge my blood!Thy Mellida is chaste;

Only to frustrate thy pursuit in love

Is blaz'd unchaste. (3.1.ll.35-9).

The ghost of Andrugio declares that the rumour concerning Mellida's inconstancy is unfounded. Mellida is cleared of *defamation's blot* (2.2.l.84) when Strotzo confesses that he has *defam'd* her wrongly (4.1.l.175).

The Duchess commits adultery with Spurio, her husband's bastard son, in Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607) in order to avenge herself on her husband [see ll.299-300]. She wishes to *arm* her husband's brow with *woman's heraldry* (1.2.l.176). The Duchess' comments in act one scene two reveal that she is aware that adultery is regarded as a sin:

But once i' th' world, and then to live a bastard,

The curse o' the womb, the thief of nature,

Begot against the seventh commandment,

Half-damned in the conception by the justice

Of that unbribed everlasting law (1.2.ll.159-63).

The reference to *the seventh commandment* (l.161) alludes to Exodus 20.14, which expressly forbids adultery.

Spurio enters into the illicit affair in order to gain revenge for the way that his father has treated him. He discusses his role in the affair in terms of the nature of his birth:

I was begot in impudent wine and lust (1.2.1.191).

He believes that his status as *the son of a cuckold-maker* (1.2.1.203) makes him a natural adulterer:

For indeed a bastard by nature should make cuckolds (1.2.1.202).

The Duke's wish to be unfaithful to his wife is merely a desire to fulfil his sexual appetite. In act three scene five Vindice tells Hippolito that the Duke desires to commit adultery. He reports that the Duke has asked him to find a lady and arrange a meeting in *some fit place, veiled from the eyes o' th' court* (3.5.1.13). The association of the location with amorous exploits is captured in the phrase that describes the meeting place- *guilty/ Of his forefather's lusts* (3.5.11.14-5).

Vindice utilises the situation to satisfy his wish for revenge. He reveals that the Duke's visit to the *un sunned lodge* (3.5.1.18) will allow the Duke to view a meeting between the Duchess and her lover (ll.18ff.):

Wherein 'tis night at noon; and here the rather,
Because unto the torturing of his soul
The bastard and the Duchess have appointed
Their meeting too in this luxurious circle,
Which most afflicting sight will kill his eyes
Before we kill the rest of him (3.5.11.19-24).

The Duke in act three scene five lines 124ff. is led to believe that his desire to commit adultery is coming to fruition- he is brought to the lodge, Vindice informs him that he has found a *country lady* (ll.134ff.) for the Duke's pleasure. Vindice's wish for vengeance on the Duke is completed when the Duke, in lust, kisses the poisoned skull that he believes to be the

perfumed head of his lover. [for discussion of the skull of Gloriana see ll.1-240 and 681-2].

Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) also unites the themes of infidelity and revenge. The former is established in act two scene three in the conversation between Antipater and Doris- for example, at line 806 Antipater comments that *foul adultery blotteth Mariam's brow*. The adultery that Herod has committed with Mariam prompts his first wife Doris to seek revenge. She feels that this lustful relationship has usurped her place as *Herod's mate* (l.772). Her desire for vengeance has been long-lived:

Oft have I begged for vengeance for this fact (l.775).

Mariam and the product of the illicit affair form the focus of Doris' plan for revenge (ll.1828ff.):

Stretch thy revenging arm; thrust forth thy hand,
And plague the mother much, the children worse.
Throw flaming fire upon the base-born heads
That were begotten in unlawful beds. (ll.1828-31).

In act five scene one one learns from Nuntio that Doris' plan has reached completion for there have been multiple murders.

The adulterous affair is discussed in Act four scene eight when Doris confronts Mariam. Doris' comments on this relationship offer a Judeo-Christian framework in which adultery can be viewed:

You in adultery lived nine years together,
And heaven will never let adultery in (ll.1790-1).

Mariam adopts this Christian frame when she attempts to define her relationship with Herod. She uses the example of Moses to authorise her adulterous affair:

Was that adultery? Did not Moses say
That he that being matched did deadly hate,

Might by permission put his wife away,

And take a more beloved to be his mate? (ll.1800-3).

Adultery also plays a significant role in Restoration comedy, but here it is not coupled with revenge. For example, the revenge theme is introduced into Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* (1676) in the final scene (5.3.126) when Olivia is exposed as an adultress but the theme is not developed.[119]

One is prompted to question why the revenge theme is absent. The lack of this meaningful ingredient can be seen to be heralded in Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* . A handful of incidents in the play are tinged with a macabre comic note which attempts to minimalise the seriousness of the dramatic action- for example, the depiction of the enthusiasm with which Ambitioso and Supervacuo hurry to effect the execution of their Junior Brother, while believing that they are removing themselves of the heir to the dukedom (3.4.11.35-60).[120] The motif of revenge may no longer be so relevant, but the plays do reveal that audiences still wished to watch dramatisations of adultery.

The significance of the theme of betrayal in the *Mock-Thyestes* (1674), and Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675) and *The Plain Dealer* cannot be fully understood unless one explores the historical setting in which they were written. The libertine aspect of these Restoration comedies served as a reaction to the dissolution of the Puritan government.

The characters parade their disregard for virtue. The immorality of the Restoration comic stage is substantiated by the comments of Sir Richard Blackmore in his Preface to *King Arthur* (1697).[121] He comments that

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[119]all references to *The Plays of William Wycherley* ed. Friedman, A., (Oxford,1979).

[120]ed. Foakes, op.cit.:pp. 13ff. for the element of farce.

[121]Nettleton, G.H., (1968), *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1642-1780)* (N.Y.):pp.120ff.

contemporary playwrights *bring Vice and the Corruption of Manners into Esteem and Reputation*. The parade of sexual degradation on the comic stage is attested in Wright's *Country Conversation* (1694), in Collier's pamphlet *A Short View of Immorality, and Profanness of the English Stage* (1698).[122] In the former Wright remarks that *most of our New Comedies are become very pictures of Immorality*. Greene in his *Apology for Actors* (1615) refers to the act of adultery in his discussion of the evil and falsehood that contemporary plays teach. He reveals that contemporary plays taught one how to *deflower* wives.

The playwright's interest in ridiculing the mask of virtue reflects the libertine aspect of his society. The prologue to Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676) betrays that the comedies offer a reflection of the manners of the day.[123] This is illustrated at lines 34ff. when Sir Car Scroope asks the audience to reserve their critical judgement:

So, among you, there starts up every day
Some new, unheard-of fool for us to play.
Then, for your own sakes, be not too severe,
Nor what you all admire at home, damn here.
Since each is fond of his own ugly face,
Why should you, when we hold it, break the glass? (ll.34-9).

Comedy as a reflection of contemporaneous life is also suggested in Wright's *Mock-Thyestes*. Tantalus implies that he would be unable to debauch those on earth because they have already been corrupted:

I must to earth: but pray let's know
What I must do there ere I go.
I cannot teach 'em damning there,
Nor more debauch 'em then they are (ll.7-10).

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[122]ibid.: for Wright p.141; for Collier p.121.
[123]Etherege, G., [1676] ,*The Man of Mode* , ed. Barnard, J. (London, 1979).

This sentiment is expressed further in the following lines when Tantalus refers to the inhabitants of earth as *Sons of Whores* (l.13). The comic genre as a mirror to reproduce the freedoms of the playwright's society is suggested by Tantalus' statement in response to Megaera's request:

Perhaps on earth what you have moved,
Is often done, and well approved;
And to debauch ones own Relation
Counted as a Genteil Recreation (ll.49-52).

Given these social and dramatic circumstances, the motif of adultery plays a more pronounced role in Wright's *Mock-Thyestes* than it does in Seneca's text. Wright's burlesque is a text that has paradoxically never been discussed before. The genre within which the *MT* falls determines the manner in which adultery will be treated- thus, the seriousness of the act is undermined in the play. Atreus seems more concerned with the attitude with which Thyestes executed the act of violation rather than with the act itself:

.....if he
Had done this out of Amity
And pure good will unto my Wife,
It had ner'e griev'd me, but, us'd life!
To Cuckold me out of meer scorn,
By flesh and blood cannot be born (ll.153-8).

The theme of adultery is alluded to at regular intervals in the play. It appears in act three when Thyestes expresses that one of the reasons tempting him to return to his homeland is the prospect of seeing Atreus' wife:

But if you go, we hope once more
To see his Wife, that honest Whore (ll.329-30).

In act five Atreus refers to the illicit relationship when he offers Thyestes a flagon of Ale. He says that his wife had labelled the *merry Wasail* (l.619) a *tast of Love* (l.621). In this act there is an indication that the relationship between Thyestes and Atreus' wife may be rekindled:

....Tell her that I greet her
Kindly, and will not fail to meet her (ll.629-30).

The importance of the adultery motif in the burlesque dictated the significance of the motif of the wife- Wright offers an account of her physical appearance and names her Jenny: It is rather humorous that a mythological Greek Queen should be given a female personal name associated with the lower orders. It is the informal equivalent of Janet and thus serves as the feminine of the name Jack, a personal name for a male servant. The description of the physical appearance of Atreus' wife provides an element of humour. Atreus compares her to the gorgon Medusa in order to support his argument that the debauchery was executed out of disrespect:

But she's as ugly as Medusa.
'Twas therefore done you plainly see,
In spight, and disrespect to me (ll.166-8).

Wright, like Seneca, ignores the part that the wife played in the act of debauchery but, unlike Seneca, he uses Atreus to disclose the reasons why a woman should not be blamed for her part in the affair. The latter is shown by Atreus' comment that *pritty Lasses* (l.183) are like *Venice Glasses* (l.184). The comparison serves to illustrate his belief that a woman's nature is brittle.

Infidelity is further explored in Wycherley's *The Country Wife*. The playwright is a satirist, and thus he presents the topic of sexual relationships as an object of laughter. The audience applauds the wife who pursues her lustful desires without her husband's detection. Sir Jaspar

Fidget accepts the flimsy explanation that is offered by his wife when she is caught in Homer's company. He believes that his wife's embrace was an attempt to discover if Homer was ticklish (4.3.ll.75ff.).

Wycherley presents a discussion by Mr.Pinchwife and Sir Jasper Fidget on the prevention of infidelity in women in order to reveal that the beliefs of these men will result in their downfall. Mr.Pinchwife does acknowledge that he would have to bear some responsibility if he was cuckolded:

.....well, if thou Cuckold me, 'twill be my own fault- for Cuckolds and Bastards, are generally makers of their own fortune (3.1.ll.54ff.).

One should consider that the idea of a husband's ineffectiveness in maintaining the constancy of his wife may have been drawn from the contemporary influence of Molière's *School for Husbands* (1661) or from Molière's *School for Wives* (1662).

The play suggests the ways in which a husband can prevent himself from being cuckolded. Mr.Pinchwife narrates that he deliberately selected a country girl because he felt that her ignorance would procure her constancy. His discussion of the qualities that are to be valued in a wife offer comment on the nature of the adulteress. He warns against the property of wit (1.1.391ff.) for wit in a wife makes a man a cuckold, but if a woman is a fool she will remain constant[124]:

'Tis my maxime, he's a Fool that marrys, but he's a greater/ that does not marry a Fool; what is wit in a Wife good for, but to make a Man a Cuckold? (1.1.ll.390-3).

Mr.Pinchwife attempts to secure his wife's constancy by dressing his wife as a boy when they go out (3.1.ll.99ff.). Sir Jasper Fidget advises the

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[124]Friedman, op.cit.: pp.262 for Wycherley's further indebtedness to Molière.

husband to provide amusement for his wife in order to prevent her from seeking pleasures for herself (1.1.ll.115ff.).

Sparkish is used to highlight the futility of the efforts of these husbands to maintain their wives' loyalty. In a conversation with Mr.Pinchwife (4.4.ll.67ff.) he comments that no means will prevent a wife from infidelity if she is inclined to act in this manner:

she'l have it sooner or later by the world.... (4.4.ll.71-2).

The portraits that the playwright paints of the husbands allows the audience to gain an insight into certain conditions under which infidelity may be considered as justified. Sir Jaspar Fidget's wife violates her marriage vows because she is starved of attention. He is primarily concerned with his business meetings. His wife comments in act two scene one on the neglect that wives suffer (2.1.ll.336-7):

Indeed as the World goes, I wonder there are no more/ jealous, since Wives are so neglected.

The presence of the libertine, Horner, serves to expose the wife's mask of purity. One should note that the name Horner means one who cuckolds.[125] A picture of the wife's prudish camouflage is painted by Lady Fidget in act five scene four when she narrates that Virtue for a woman is the same as Religion for the statesman (5.4.ll.104ff.). It is unlikely that a wife in Lady Fidget's position would have made such an honest remark. Horner does not expose the hypocrisy of the wives because this screen secures his own impunity. Lady Fidget asks him to preserve their reputation (5.4.ll.170ff.) and he willingly agrees to this request (5.4.ll.173ff.):

Come, faith Madam, let us e'en pardon one another, for/ all the difference I find betwixt we men, and you women, we forswear/ our selves at the beginning of an Amour, you, as long as it lasts (5.4.ll.173-5).

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[125]cf. Fletcher, J., *The Elder Brother* (London,1637): sig.H2 where the name is used to mean cuckold maker.

The presentation by Wycherley of women choosing their own sexual partners could be viewed as a reflection of the playwright's desire to subvert the notion of the subjection of women to the authority of men.

Mrs.Pinchwife's inconstancy is revealed clearly in the second scene of the fourth act. The letter that she substitutes for the one dictated by her husband discloses the depth of her passion. In the letter she declares her love for Horner in physical terms- she desires to touch his *Toe under the Table* (4.2.11.160), to rub knees with him and to stare into his face until she blushes.

The voice of vice that reigns triumphant at the close of the play elevates the deceiver to the level of hero rather than lowering her to the status of villain. The comedy ends on an ironic note- the audience are presented with a dance of cuckolds rather than the traditional marriage dance. Thus, one is left contemplating the futility of the improper marriage instead of the fulfilment of the ideal union.

The sexual freedom of married women is further explored in *The Plain Dealer*. In the *Epistle Dedicatory* Wycherley defines the term adultery. At lines 30-2 the audience learns that unfaithful wives are those who fanatize about other men:

.....their Husbands, whom they Cuckold/ with themselves, by thinking of other men, and so make the lawful matrimonial/ embraces Adultery (11.30-2).

The playwright attests to the sexual liberty of contemporary women by choosing, with satiric wit, to address the *Epistle Dedicatory* to Lady B- Mother Bennett, a notorious procuress.

In the course of the play the audience will view Olivia repeatedly embracing adultery. In the opening scene we learn of Olivia's relationship with Manly:

She had given me her heart first, and I am satisfi'd with/ the security; I can never doubt her truth and constancy (1.1.11.579-80).

Olivia ends the relationship in act two scene one when she declares her love for her husband:

Most passionately; nay, love him now, tho' I have marry'd/ him, and he me: which mutual love, I hope you are too good, too/ generous a Man to disturb, by any future claim, or visits to me (2.1.11.705-7).

Vernish, Olivia's husband, learns of the affair from Manly in act five scene two. Manly does not learn that Vernish is married to Olivia until 5.3.11.50ff.. Thus, he, unwittingly, informs Vernish that he had to pay Olivia before she would sleep with him:

Ay, a Mercenary Whore indeed; for she made me pay her, before I lay with her (5.2.11.122-3).

She will betray the love that she declares for her husband when she meets Fidelia, whom she believes to be a man. At lines 189ff. of act four scene two she declares the *fierceness of her love* (11.189-90) for Fidelia. Her passion for Fidelia is revealed when she infers that they will indulge in sexual pleasures (4.2.11.244f.):

But I did not think with you, my life, to pass my time in/ talking. Come hither, come; yet stay, till I have lock'd a door in the/ other Room, that might chance to let us in some interruption; which/ reciting Poets, or losing Gamesters, fear not more than I at this/ time do (4.2.11.244-8).

Vernish shares his wife's illicit lust for Fidelia. He touches Fidelia's breasts and suggests that they may indulge in the pleasures of the flesh:

Come, there is a Bed within, the proper Rack for/ Lovers; and if you are a Woman, there you can keep no secrets,/ you'll tell me there all unask'd. Come. (4.2.11.380-2).

At the close of the play the playwright makes Olivia pay the penalty for her infidelity- in act five scene three she is publicly unmasked and she is deprived of the gifts from her lovers (5.3.ll.118ff.).

443-51 .....and now let all/ the flocke of furies dyre,/ And full of strife Erinnys come,/ and double brands of fyre/ Megaera shakyng: for not yet/ enough with furie greate/ And rage dothe burne my boylyng brest/ it ought to be repleate,/ With monster more:

Atreus summons the spirits of vengeance to strengthen the violence that he feels within his own heart. Gueneuora voices Hughes' translation of Seneca's (ll.249-52) *dira Furiarum cohors,/ Discorsque Erinnys veniat, et geminas faces/ Megaera quatiens: non satis magno meum/ Ardet furore pectus: impleri iuuat/ Maiore monstro* in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) [for lines translated by Hughes see ll.85-6 The Preface]:

Come spitefull fiends, come heapes of furies fell,
Not one, by one, but all at once: my breast
Raues not inough: it likes me to be fil\de
With greater monsters yet (1.2.ll.39-42).

The invocation of a dark force also features in *Macbeth* (1606). In 1.5. Lady Macbeth summons up the spirits- beseeching them to fill her with viciousness and to hide her thoughts:

.....Come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood;
Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
That no compunctious visitings of nature
Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
The effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts,

And take my milk for gall, you murdering ministers,
Wherever in your sightless substances
You wait on nature's mischief! Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
To cry, "Hold, hold!" (1.5.11.41-55).

449 And rage dothe burne my boylyng brest:

Atreus describes the physical effects of the passion to which he is subject [further description of physical effect of passion 1.1654]. There is no universal set of principles and standards by which we are able to determine what constitutes a passion. The Stoics postulated that a passion was a morally reprehensible impulse, an agitated and misguided movement of the soul. Passions are said to arise out of mistaken views of what is good and what is bad. In Chrysippus' work entitled *On Passions* he relates that passions arise when man acts contrary to the norm of right reason. Seneca portrays the anger of both Atreus and Medea by bringing the experiences of the central character before the audience. The most colourful physical description appears in the lyrics of the final Choral interlude, 11.849-78. In these lines the auditor learns of the changing states of blushing and pallor which occur when the individual is subjected to a state of frenzy:

vultus citatus ira
riget et caput feroci
quatiens superba motu
regi minatur ultro.
quis credat exulem?
Flagrant genae rubentes,

pallor fugat ruborem,

nullum vagante forma

servat diu colorem (*Medea* ll.853-61).

Anger is a passion which lends itself to physical description:

Cetera licet, abscondere et in abdito alere; ira se profert et in faciem exit, quantoque maior, hoc effervescit manifestius (*De ira* 1.1.5).

It could be proposed that this playwright's detailed physical description was grounded in the Stoic concept of the theatre as an educator: Seneca was concerned that the spectator should come to recognise the hallmarks of each passion. When a poet describes a facial expression, he is recording for the spectator the nature of the character's reaction.

Downame's account of the ugliness of the bodily condition of an individual consumed by anger in his *A Treatise of Anger* (1609) serves a similar didactic purpose. In his chapter on the *manifold and great evils which accompany unjust anger* he relates that anger causes the hair to stand erect, the eyes to stare, the teeth to bite, the face to become flushed, the speech to stutter, the blood to swell in the veins, the breast to expand, the hands to strike at objects, the joints to shake and the feet to beat the ground. [126] Heywood's description of his own physical condition in the closing lines of the *Preface* echoes Downame's account of the deformity that anger imposes upon the body. Heywood narrates his experience of the passion of anger (*vext* 1.679) that the fury has instilled within him in physical terms (ll.665ff.)- for example, he comments that his hair stood on end, his muscles began to shake and his teeth began to ache (ll.677-80).

In *MT* (1674) Wright imitates Seneca's verbalisation of the effects of passion. In the burlesque Atreus' discussion of his desire for revenge includes reference to his physical being:

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[126]Downame, op.cit.:p. 53.

I feel a rumbling in my belly

To do a thing which I won't tell ye.

Sure 'tis some Spirit that thus puts

Me on, and agitates my Guts (ll.233-6).

The colloquial nature of the terms of the description such as *belly* and *Guts* forms a humorous contrast to the grand diction of Seneca's line.

In early modern revenge tragedies the playwrights depict the inner passions of their revengers. This awareness of the self reveals an area in which Seneca was influential. In Hughes' · *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) Guenovera relates to Fronia her desire to exact vengeance:

.....My hart doth throbbe:

My liuer boyles: some what my minde portendes,

Vncertayne what: but whatsoeuer, it's huge (1.2.ll.42-4).

Seneca's internalisation of passion is imitated in R.W.'s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2). Tancred's account of his desire for passion draws, like that of Atreus (*burne*), on the imagery of fire. Thus, he describes that his mind, *that burneth with desire/ Of dire reuenge* (ll.1003-4). The figurative association between passion and fire is echoed in Tancred's account of his wish to see his daughter:

Call my daughter: my heart boyles till I see

Her in my sight, to whom I may discharge

All the vnrest that thus distempereth me (ll.1010-2).

The text *Stoicus Vapulans* was published anonymously in 1648 . The title page reveals that the play was performed at St.John's College, Cambridge in 1618, which suggests that the author was a student there at that time. The play presents a humorous look at the Stoic belief in the subordination of passion to reason.[127] Before the discussion of the play is

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[127]Anon, [1648], *Stoicus Vapulans* , ed. Mulryan, J., (Zurich: N.Y., 1991).

opened we should consider the degree of knowledge and popularity of Stoicism in the early modern period. The Stoic texts of Epictetus and Seneca are recorded in the inventories of the private libraries- for example, John Dee owned an edition of the Manual (1531), and Abraham Tilman (1589) possessed a Latin and Greek copy of Epictetus' *Enchavidion*. [128]If Seneca's brand of Stoicism was influential in the Renaissance it would have emanated out of their knowledge of the Latin texts of Seneca because there is no record of translations of the main philosophical works until 1614 (the year in which Lodge's edition was published).[129] The dramatic works betray varying degrees of Stoic colouring- early texts such as *Gorboduc* (acted in 1561; printed in 1565, revised in 1570) and *The Misfortunes of Arthur* contain few Stoic sentiments; later dramatic works such as Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1610-11) and Massinger's *Believe as you List* (1631) have a stronger Stoic hue. [130]This pattern was determined, in part, by the translation movement, for the two principal periods for the translation of Stoic texts were 1560-80 and 1610-36. Translations of neo-Stoic writers such as Justus Lipsius appeared in the interval. Lipsius' works would have doubtless endeared Stoicism to the contemporaneous society, for he had attempted in his *Manductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam* (1604) and *Physiologia Stoicorum* (1604) to reconcile Stoicism with Christianity- for example, he attempts to establish, with little attention to theological concerns, that the Stoic wise man is akin to the good Christian. [131] [see ll.299-300 of text for elevation of Seneca to biblical status].

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[128]Monsarrat, op.cit.: p. 25.
[129]ibid.:pp. 31ff. for an account of the translation movement.
[130]ibid.:pp. 189ff. discusses Stoicism in Chapman; pp.224ff. in Massinger.
[131]Saunders, J.L, (1955), *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (N.Y.): pp. 67ff. for comparison between Stoicism and Christianity; pp.84ff. for similarities between *sapiens* and the Christian.

In *Stoicus Vapulans* Stoicus is beaten by Dolor for rejecting the affections that are exchanged between Voluptas and Joy (2.4.). This thrashing fails to alter Stoicus' belief in the virtue of the lack of passion. In 3.2. Stoicus' support of the supremacy of reason is shown to backfire and he is presented as subject to emotions such as Hatred, Anger and Tristia. This is further illustrated at lines 907-9 when Stoicus complains of his suffering, and in the next breath proclaims that he is not annoyed with his torturers:

O passum gravioral O justa caelorum nu-/mina! per Iovem

Ego non irascor tamen (ll.907-8).

Ridicule of the Stoic position on passion reaches a climax in the fifth act. In 5.2. Reason, the presiding judge in the Court hearing Stoicus' indictment against passion, reveals the nature of Stoicus' accusation. Reason tells that Stoicus has classified Desire as a prostitute, Love as a killer, Joy as a procuress and Hope as a cheat. Stoicus begs for passions to be expelled (*Ut exulent/ Affectus precor* ll.1955-6) because he feels that they will demolish the community. He utilises the disagreement that is enacted in 5.3. between the Appetites over a piece of tobacco in order to reveal the threat that the passions pose (5.4.). Thus, Stoicus' summons against passion in favour of reason is shown to be excessive. The humour is achieved by revealing the contradictory nature of Stoicus' responses to the Court's ruling that emotions should avoid him. Peripateticus anticipates Stoicus' response :

Quid jam Stoice? quid jam? exclamo nunc

o tempora! o mores! (ll.2455-6).

Stoicus is shown to respond in exactly this manner, but the comic note is introduced when he comments that he is not angry. His reply echoes the Senecan exclamations of Peripateticus' lines:

O tempora! o mores! o passum gravioral

per Jovem ego non irascor tamen (ll.2457-8).

The satirical treatment of the Stoic belief in passion as an erroneous judgement may have arisen out of the contemporaneous view that passions are a central part of man's nature. This is illustrated by Joseph Hall in his *Meditations and Vows* - he suggests that he could not be a Stoic because he is unable to live without passion.[132] A further example of this belief is presented in Arthur Warwick's *Spare Minutes* (1634)- he asserts that living without passion would be worse than being reduced to the status of an animal.[133]

455-6 No gilt will I forbeare, nor none/ may be enoughe despight:

A translation of the Senecan line (l.255 *Nullum relinquam facinus, et nullum est satis*) can be found in Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) 1.2.. Hughes renders *facinus* as *plague*:

Omit no plague, and none will be inough (1.2.1.46).

[for references to Hughes' translations see ll.85-6 The Preface].

565-70 What thyng against their unkle now,/ you them enstrukte to do,/ Perhaps with you to worke the like,/ they will not be a dred./ Suche mischiefe wrought hath ofte returnde/ upon the workers hed:

The servant attempts to warn Atreus of the dangers of teaching his sons, for a teacher's words may be turned on him by his pupils. These sentiments are echoed in *Macbeth* (1606):[134]

.....But in these cases

We still have judgement here; that we but teach

Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return

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[132]Monsarrat, op.cit.: p. 86.
[133]ibid.:p. 89.
[134]Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit.: p.82 notes imitation of *Hercules Furens* 739-740.

To plague the inventor (1.7.11.7-10).

608-11 **but muche the fearfull face/ Bewrayes it selfe: euen him that faynes/ the secret wayghtie case,/ Dothe ofte betray:**

Atreus reveals that facial expressions betray an individual's feelings. Lady Macbeth illustrates this statement when she addresses her husband in *Macbeth* (1606):

Your face, my thane, is as a book where men

May read strange matters (1.5.11.63-4).

619-86 Chorus:

This ode serves as a reflection on the nature of kingship. The Chorus register the existence of a report concerning an agreement that has been reached between Atreus and Thyestes, and this prompts them to discuss the thirst for power that strives to destroy them.

The parallel ode in *MT* (1674) presents a discussion of the nature of cuckoldry and the means by which it can be avoided. The change in subject matter reflects the significance of the adultery motif and contemporary comedy's preoccupation with the comedy of manners. The Chorus attempt to minimise the seriousness of the act of cuckoldry by commenting that they fail to understand how the act can cause the brothers to quarrel. Their attitude can be explained in part by their suggestion that *Cuckoldry and Pusillage/ Are but two shaddows of the Age* (ll.271-2). They remark that the discovery of infidelity often leads to violence:

And yet for this men take the pains

To beat out one anothers brains.

Nor do they spare the other Sex,

But often break their Spouses necks (ll.275-8).

One notes the irony of these lines because Atreus, the cuckolded husband, does not display violent tendencies directly towards his wife or his brother. They observe that a cautious husband keeps his wife caged and tends to her as if she were a *Bird-Canary* (l.280) :

Then happy she, whose Husband's wary,
And keeps her caged like Bird-Canary,
Giving her once a day, with care,
Linseed and water, fresh and fair (ll.279-82).

They advocate this type of wife because she will spend her time spinning, knitting and sewing. In contrast, the Chorus sing that the wife who is beautiful will gain unnecessary attention from admirers and will engage in illicit sexual liaisons:

Much Love without doors while she gets,
Causing within more jealous heats,
May dye of Husbands bangs perhaps:
If not, yet of her Servants Claps (ll.291-4).

The vulgarity of the reference to sexual disease in the phrase *Servants Claps* closes the ode on a comic note.

627 Not ritches make a kyng or highe renowne...:

The sweeping declaration that riches do not make a King (l.343*regem non faciunt opes*) is clarified in the next three lines. The accoutrements of the royal figure are itemised- the purple dye as a sign of royal standing in the classical world, the crown as a mark of kingship and the golden roof beams as an indication of wealth. These details signalling the symbols of wealth and excess associated with the king are echoed in MS Sloane 1041[see ll.85-6 The Preface]. The directions for the painting of the mythological story of Atreus and Thyestes make specific reference to the architecture of the palace, the colours of a king's garments and the sceptre that indicates a

king's sovereignty. The signs of a regal position also feature in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1598-9) 4.1.11.277ff. King Henry mentions the representations of kingship- the sceptre, the ball and the crown. The passage also expresses the extravagance and affluence associated with kingship- *robe of gold and pearl* (4.1.1.279). The ode considers that the true king is one who is unfettered by fear and passion, invulnerable to the attractions of riches and fame, and courageous in the face of death.

Seneca's passage, already significant to the Romans, gained added resonances with the debates surrounding the nature of kingship, tyranny and despotism that proliferated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its currency in debate is illustrated by the frequency with which Renaissance playwrights introduce politically didactic sentiments into their works. I will now examine the relevant political and dramatic literature. Implicit in discussions of the rulers of the state in the Renaissance is the idea that there is an unwritten moral standard by which kings should rule themselves. In the Renaissance treatises on the definition and education of the ideal prince, the model citizen, the gentleman were numerous- for example, Sir Thomas Elyot's *Book Named the Governor* (first published in 1531). This work considers all aspects of the life of members of the ruling classes. Chapters IV to XXVII of the first book present a scheme for the education of future governors. He proposes that they should study the classics- from the age of seven they are to learn Latin and Greek and progress with their studies until they are grounded in the popular classical authors:

Now let us return to the order of learning apt for a gentleman. Wherein I am of the opinion of Quintilian that I would have him learn Greek and Latin authors both at one time..[135]

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[135]Elyot, op.cit.:p. 28.

In Books two and three Elyot defines the qualities of the ruler. He defines each virtue and offers historical examples to illustrate its application.

This is reminiscent of the works of Erasmus (1466-1536) whose social thinking was influenced by his knowledge of Stoic writers such as Seneca.[136] In *The Education of the Christian Prince* (1516) he makes specific reference to Seneca and his texts, and there are numerous allusions to Senecan sentiments that are not noted. He cites *De Clementia* twice in book one in order to convey his belief that a king should not display anger (*De Clementia* I.19.2,3), and that a king should strive to serve the needs of his people (*De Clementia* I.12.1). Erasmus echoes Senecan ideas in his passages on, for example, the education of the prince (*De ira* II.21.3), and the sycophants that should be weaned from a prince's side (*De ira* II. 21.7-8). In his *The Education of a Christian Prince* and *The Praise of Folly* (1510) the king is depicted as a political variant of the Stoic wise man. In the latter he discloses the association in Senecan Stoic doctrine between the wise man and absence of passion:

This is what marks the wise man off from the fool; he is ruled by reason, the fool by his emotions.That is why the Stoics segregate all passions from the wise man, as if they were diseases .[137]

This account of an unemotional being develops, and he introduces the idea of an affiliation between the wise man and the king. He suggests that the wise man who is unmoved by passion, never deluded, complacent and self reliant is suitable to be a king:

Self-sufficient, self-satisfied, the only man to be rich and healthy, a king and free- unique in fact in everything, but only in his own unique opinion- he feels no need of friends and is a friend to no one, he doesn't

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[136]Erasmus, [1516] , *The Education of a Christian Prince* trans. and ed. Born, L.K.,(N.Y.:1936): pp. 94-9 for Erasmus' ancient sources.
[137]Erasmus, [1511], *Praise of Folly* : trans. Radice, B., (Chatham:1974): p. 52.

hesitate to bid the gods themselves go hang, and everything that happens to him in life he treats as crazy with ridicule and contempt. But this is the sort of animal who is the perfect wise man.[138]

Joseph Hall's definition (1608) of the wise man also centres on the sage's characteristic of self-mastery:

His passions are so manie good seruants, which stand in a diligent attendance, ready to be commaunded by reason, by religion; and if at any time, forgetting their duty, they be mis-carried to rebell, hee can first conceale their mutiny, then suppresse it.[139]

Hall's works deserve attention because his moral and theological thinking is similar to that of Seneca.[140] This is illustrated by Gilbert Primrose who called Hall *Christianus Seneca* (1629).[141] Hall's account of the *Character of the Wise Man* appears in his *Characters of Vertues and Vices*, a treatise that presents the practical relevance of the philosophical precepts that he has explored in *Heaven Upon Earth* (1606).[142] He depicts the wise man as a citizen who unites devotional well being with sound judgement. On page eight he offers a definition of the wise man in terms of a scholar and a master. He is both *an apt scholar, and an excellent master: for both euerie thing hee sees, informes him, and his minde inriched with plentifull obseruation can giue the best precepts.*

The section's concluding remarks offer a condensed portrait of the wise man. Thus, on page ten and following Hall expresses that the wise man is *his owne Lawyer; the treasurie of knowledge, the oracle, of counsell; blinde in no mans cause, best-sighted in his owne.*[143]

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[138]ibid.:p. 52.
[139]Hall, J., (1608), *Characters of Vertves and Vices* (London): p.9.
[140]Williamson, G., (1951), *The Senecan Amble: a study in prose from Bacon to Collier* (Chicago):p. 246.
[141]Monsarrat, op.cit.:pp.100ff. for Hall as a Neo-Stoic or Christian Stoic.
[142]Hall, op. cit.: pp.5-11.
[143]Hall, op. cit.: pp. 10-11.

Erasmus in *The Praise of Folly* suggests that a king should be ruled by reason for he can only govern his subjects correctly if he is able to master his own desires. This sentiment is reiterated in Erasmus' comments on social duty in *Adages* :

..And also because a man must first rule his own lusts, and be himself obedient to right reason, ere he can well govern other. [144]

This concept of self-mastery is illustrated further in Baldwin's *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (1559).[145] He offers examples of acclaimed Englishmen who have met with disaster in order to reveal to magistrates the dangers of following one's own predilections. He attempts to disclose that an individual cannot rule others if he has not learned to regulate himself.

The portrait of the good prince presented in Erasmus' *The Education of a Christian Prince* develops his belief in the harmony between rule and Christian ethics. [146]Thus, Erasmus expresses that, according to the example of God, a prince has to exceed others in judgement and knowledge.[147] He advocates that a prince should possess knowledge of the Scriptures because a prince must also be a philosopher. The practical political didacticism of this work is suggested by Erasmus's decision to dedicate this work (twelve years after its initial publication) to Charles I of Spain, who was later to become Emperor Charles V. In this treatise he presents an overview of a prince's responsibilities. He comments that the prince should participate in public affairs- overseeing the judicial system, providing an educational programme for his subjects, aid the lower orders and encourage harmony amongst his subjects.[148]

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[144]Chew, op.cit.: p. 225.
[145]Baldwin, op.cit..
[146]Erasmus ed.Born, op.cit.:pp. 26-44.
[147]Erasmus, (1703-6), *Opera Omnia* (Leyden): p. 574.
[148]ibid.:pp. 598ff.

Erasmus emphasises the role of education for a prince whose position is a hereditary right. This sentiment is echoed in George Buchanan's *De Iure Regni* (1566/7,printed1579). In this treatise Buchanan emphasises the significance of education in determining the character of the Prince. This idea had already been presented in his *Genethliacon* - at II.340-3 of this birthday speech, he proposed that the early education of the Prince, James VI, should consist of instruction in religion, morality, honour and justice.[149] This poem does not serve as record of forthcoming victories- it offers a list of instructions on the rearing and function of the Protestant Prince. This didactic piece was composed in the last years of Buchanan's life and expresses his concerns for the future of his country. Buchanan emphasises the qualities that he wishes James to display in order to obtain his wish for the dawn of a Golden Age. The opening lines prophesy his political Utopia:

Cresce, puer, patriae auspiciis felicibus orte,
Ex spectate puer, cui vatum oracla priorum
Aurea compositis promittunt secula bellis.[150]

Buchanan's treatises on the nature of kingship served as a response to the contemporaneous political situation.[151] He utilised these literary products to express his dissatisfaction with Mary, his support for Moray as her successor, and his wish to disengage James from his mother's company and to convert him to Protestantism. The latter's comments concerning James are substantiated by Buchanan's decision to dedicate his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (c. 1560 the treatise begins to take form but is published later) to, and for the instruction of, James VI. In the treatise Buchanan associates the model ruler with his ability to dispense justice, to

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[149]Mc Farlane, I.D., (1981), *Buchanan* (London): p.446 discusses *Genethliacon* as a forerunner to *Historia* and *De Iure Regni* .
[150]Buchanan, G., *Opera Omnia* (Leiden, 1725): *Genethliacon* ll.1-3.
[151]Mc Farlane, op.cit.:pp.392ff. discusses *De Iure Regni* .

remain moderate in his sexual desires and reasonable in his practices.[152] The composition recommends that the king should set a moral example for his subjects to follow- it advises the king to keep away from sycophants, to associate with the citizens, and to shun inactivity. He lists wisdom, justice and moderation as the characteristics of the wise ruler. He comments that the latter is demonstrated when the king allows reason to control his passions. The treatise describes the difficulties of selecting a monarch and offers an account of a suitable method of selection. The monarch should have public approval and be a member of the Royal family- although, there are circumstances under which a monarch can be chosen by God from amongst the lower orders. Buchanan relates that the authority of the king should be regulated by the people. Thus, the king is not allowed to act above the law.

Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville in *Gorboduc* (1561) offer comment on kingship in response to contemporaneous events. The tragedies that were written in the 1560s all reveal that a political bias was an important element of contemporary tragedy. [153] These plays reflect the growing concern for an insecure throne- Elizabeth I had been dangerously ill and remained unmarried. *Gorboduc* served as a warning to Elizabeth I of the disorder that ensues when the Crown is insecure.[154] In act two scene one the political message is foremost. The counsel that Hermon offers Ferrex at lines 144ff. is used to illustrate that division and uncertainty of the throne causes monarchic ambition. Hermon counsels Ferrex to resort to force in order to claim his right to the throne. He justifies this action by asserting that the gods permit kings to carry out tasks that are forbidden in ordinary men:

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[152]ibid.: pp.416ff. for *De Scoticarum Historia* .
[153]Edwards, P., (1966), *Thomas Kyd and Early Elizabethan Tragedy* (Longmans):pp.9ff. for the political bias of *Gorboduc* .
[154]Baker, op.cit.: pp.18ff.

"When kings on slender quarrels run to wars,

"And then in cruel and unkindly wise

"Command thefts, rapes, murders of innocents,

"The spoil of towns, ruins of mighty realms;

"Think you such princes do suppose themselves

"Subject to laws of kind, and fear of gods?

Murders and violent thefts in private men

Are heinous crimes, and full of foul reproach;

Yet none offence, but deck'd with glorious name

Of noble conquests, in the hands of kings (2.1.ll.146-155).

The political sentiments expressed in this speech may have been a reflection of the beliefs of its author, Norton.[155] This poetic speech highlights the political message that rebellions and civil wars coexist alongside an uncertain throne. The comment of Dordan at lines 162-5 affirms that one is to disregard the advice of the evil counsellor Hermon :

O heaven! was there ever heard or known

So wicked counsel to a noble prince?

Let me, my lord, disclose unto your grace

This heinous tale, what mischief it contains (2.1.ll.162-5).

In first and third Choral odes of Goldingham's *Herodes* (c.1570/1580) political comments are offered on the nature of the king. The first Choral ode (ll.251-345) warns that a king should not place too much trust in either his sword or his wealth. In the third ode ll.871-943 kingship receives greater attention. The definition of the king is presented in the form of a list which is signalled by the repetition of the phrase *Rex est...*- for example, at l. 914, l.918,l.922, l.928, l.933. The Chorus assert that a king must be able to control his emotions:

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[155]ibid.:pp.23ff..

Rex est qui dominus sui est (l.914).

A king should not ruled by fortune or the changing favour of the people:

Rex est, qui satis est sibi

Quem nox de stabili gradu

Deiecit populus minax,

Nex vulga fragilis fauor (ll.918-21).

In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) the discussion of the ideal ruler centres on the relationship between the king, obedience, justice and clemency. The sweeping political comments exchanged by Lucrece and her brother Tancred in the stichomythic dialogue at ll.454ff. focus on the tie between the ruler, obedience and justice:

Lucrece: *The kings comandment alwais should be iust.*

Tancred: *What ere it be the kings commaund is iust.*

Lucrece: *Iust to commaund: but iustlie must he charge.*

Tancred: *He chargeth iustlie that commands as king.* (ll.453-6).

This discussion is prompted by Tancred's desire to gain the obedience of his daughter.

A king's right to exercise the virtue of clemency is considered by Tancred and Iulio at ll.1280ff.. The king and his Lord Chamberlain discuss this issue in response to Tancred's decree that Palurin is to be conveyed to the dungeon (ll.1275-9). Iulio feels that Tancred should show mercy towards the distressed prisoner (ll.1280-3). This forces Tancred to utter a tyrannical maxim reminiscent of Atreus:

This is the soundest safetie for a king

To cut them off that vex or hinder him (ll.1284-5).

Iulio counters this comment by asserting that the king reigns in safety when he pardons *the Subiects that do honor him* (l.1287).

Seneca's meditation on kingship is echoed in the conversation between Andrugio and Lucio in 4.1. ll.46ff. of Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*

(1599). At 1.48 Marston reproduces the Senecan reference to Tyrian purple- in both cases it is employed to denote regal status. Marston agrees with Seneca's belief that outer garments do not make an individual into a ruler:

'Tis not the bared pate, the bended knees,
Gilt tipstaves, Tyrian purple, chairs of state,
Troops of pied butterflies that flutter still
In greatness' summer, that confirm a prince (4.1.11.47-50).

Andrugio uses the example of Lucio to illustrate the qualities of the *true right king* (4.1.1.54). He reveals that absence of fear, the disregard for the opinion of others and personal contentment form the principal characteristics of the model king (4.1.11.54ff.):

.....that dares do aught save wrong
Fears nothing mortal but to be unjust;
Who is not blown up with the flattering puffs
Of spongy sycophants, who stands unmov'd
Despite the justling of opinion,
Who can enjoy himself maugre the throng
That strive to press his quiet out of him,
Who sits upon Jove's footstool, as I do,
Adoring, not affecting majesty,
Whose brow is wreathed with the silver crown
Of clear content (4.1.11.54-64).

Andrugio in the following lines appears as the antithesis of the ideal that he has promoted. The name Genoese causes Andrugio to become *vile passion's slave* (4.1.1.69). When Andrugio addresses Lucio at lines 83-4 he expresses further that he is subject to a bout of passion:

Spit on me, Lucio, for I am turn'd slave;
Observe how passion domineers o'er me (4.1.11.83-4).

The quality of self-mastery as the definining characteristic of the king is noted by Bussy in George Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1603-4).[156] Bussy discusses in abstract terms acts of virtue and injustice, and from this account he concludes that a king rules himself:

Who to himself is law, no law doth need,
Offends no law, and is a king indeed (2.1.11.203-4).

In Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1610-11) the Countess considers the behaviour of a monarch.[157] She compares the king to a deity in order to illustrate that the king should *reign justly and reign safely* (4.3.1.49). Her speech focuses on the relationship between the ruler and his subjects. She comments that a king should set an example for his subjects and should allow his subjects the power to follow this example:

So kings to subjects crying, Do, do not this,
Must to them by their own examples' strength,
The straightness of their acts, and equal compass,
Give subjects power t' obey them in the like (4.3.11.61-4).

The idea of the ruling classes as an exemplar is echoed in Webster's *The White Devil* (performed 1612). Cornelia comments that *The lives of princes should like dyals move,/ Whose regular example is so strong,/ They make the times by them go right or wrong* (1.2.11.279-81). In these lines Webster attempts to warn of the dangers that accompany a prince's decision to err from the right course.

In *Jephthes*[158](1554) (in Britain translations of the play appear late- Tate's translation was published in 1570 at Edinburgh) Buchanan utilises the character Jephthes, a man of humble birth, to illustrate the features of

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[156]Chapman G., [1603-4], *Bussy d'Ambois* (London), ed. Parrott, T.M.,*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman* : vol.1: The Tragedies.
[157]ibid..
[158]Garioch, R., (trans.)[1554][1577], *George Buchanan's Jephthah and The Baptist: Translatit in Scots* (Edinburgh and London, 1959).

the model king. Buchanan shared Seneca's belief that tragedy possessed an educative purpose. This is illustrated in the preface to Buchanan's translation of *Alcestis*.[159] At l.536 he expresses his belief that an individual's mind is influenced more readily when actions are made to breathe by means of speech. Thus, in the play the didactic message is to be drawn from the playwright's presentation of Herod being manipulated by evil counsellors to act in a tyrannical manner against John the Baptist. In the play, he exhibits impartiality, honesty and righteousness. He uses force as the last resort, and when he gains victory he exercises mercy towards women, children and those of advanced years. These qualities are illustrated by the messenger in scene three (ll.19ff.) when he relates to the Chorus news from the battle front:

he has massacred aa their menfolk,
scorched their land and laid it bare;
nane but wemen, auld men and wee baims
nou wanner about on their wasted lands
to mum the mishanters o their country (3.ll.131-5).

In *Baptistes* (1577) Buchanan offers advice to rulers, and employs the differences between the king and tyrant in order to present the merits of democratic rule. Gamaliel in the first part of Buchanan's play suggests that a ruler should be suspicious of the counsellors and sychophants that surround him (Part first ll.227ff.).[160] He discloses that malevolent counsellors can pose a threat to rulers (Part first ll. 198ff.). He comments that princes commonly *hearken unto secret tell-tales* (Part first l. 234) and are influenced by false reports (Part first ll.235-40).

In the second part of the play a discussion of the virtues of a king is prompted by Herod's belief that John the Baptist does not pose a threat to

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159 Buchanan, (1725), *Opera Omnia* (Leiden).
160 Mc Farlane, op.cit.:pp.379ff. discusses *Baptistes* .

his power (Part second ll.9ff.). The tyrannical remarks of the Queen are set in opposition to Herod's comments. Herod compares the attitude of the king with the tyrant in order to illustrate the appropriate behaviour of a monarch towards his adversaries:

Surely a tyrant and a king that's good
Differ in this, the one his foes preserves,
The other is a foe to them he rules (Part second ll.30-2).[161]

In contrast, the Queen suggests that the king should destroy his enemies (Part second ll. 33-5) for she distrusts the devotion of the people to their ruler. Herod does not feel that John the Baptist is capable of manipulating the allegiance of his subjects, and thus he advocates that a king should exercise a moderate level of power:

When a good king is able to do much,
His power he ought to moderate (Part second ll.64-5).

In the fifth part, the conversation between Herod and his daughter (ll.48ff.) discloses comments on the nature of kingship- Salome is attempting to persuade her father to grant her the head of John the Baptist. Her tyrannical sentiments are countered by the comments of Herod on sovereignty. Herod states that it is a king's duty *just things to command* (Part fifth l.49). He expresses that a king cannot act outside the law (l. 51) nor rule his kingdom through fear (l.58). The conversation focuses, in part, on the relationship between the ruler and his subjects:

Yet we find
Kings are securest in the cities' faith (Part fifth ll.60-1).

Thus, Herod asserts that a king's safety relies on the support of his citizens.

The relevance of Seneca's ode is thus seen to have spread beyond the bounds of the tragedy. The playwrights reiterate Senecan sentiments on

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[161] Brown, J.T.T., (1906), *An English translation of George Buchanan's Baptistes attributed to John Milton* (Glasgow).

the trappings of kingship, the parallelism between the king and the Stoic wise man, the behaviour of a king towards his subjects, and the association of the king with mercy.

672-86 let who so lyst with myghtie mace to raygne.....:

This line signals the introduction into the ode of a more positive note. The Chorus express a desire for the retired life and emphasize the uncertainty of short-lived earthly affairs. The resonance of this passage for the early modern period is revealed by the number of translations that appeared. This passage was translated by Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503?-42), Sir Matthew Hale (1609-76), Abraham Cowley (1618-67) and Andrew Marvell (1621-78).[162] The translations of these thirteen Senecan lines vary in length- the translations by Heywood and Marvell are the nearest in length. The former running to fifteen lines and the latter to fourteen lines. The translation by Wyatt is ten lines, Hale's is twenty two lines and Cowley's is twenty six lines. The translations reveal similarities in vocabulary. In the translations of the first line of the passage Heywood and Hale both use the word *let* (Heywood:l.672), and Heywood and Wyatt both adopt the word *lyst* (Heywood:l.672). Hale's translation of the personal wishes of the Chorus for a life of obscurity resembles Heywood's translation. In both the emphasis is placed on the sweetness and rest that this tranquillity can offer- for example, Hale renders the line as:

Let sweet Repose, and Rest my portion be

The multiplicity of the adjectives in Hale's translation of (ll.392-4)*Obscuro positus loco/ Leni perfruar otio,/ Nullis nota Quiritibus* (*unheard , unseen , unconcerned*) underline the nature of the desired obscurity. Heywood, Wyatt, Hale and Marvell use the term Court in order to convey

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[162]quotations from *The Oxford book of verse in English translation* ed. Tomlinson (Oxford, 1980).

Seneca's reference to the *aulae culmine lubrico* (l.390). In Cowley's translation of this Senecan phrase he alludes to the *humane state* and the*guilded pinnacles of Fate*. The translators offer similar translations of the closing lines of the ode- for example, Hale translates the lines concerning the public individual's inability to know himself as follows:

Death is a mere Suprize, a very Snare,
To him that makes it his lifes greatest care
To be a publick Pageant, known to All,
But unacquainted with Himself, doth fall

[Thyestes also expresses his desire for the simple life- see ll.771ff.].

681-2 An aged man I shall departe at last,/ In meane estate, to dye full well content:

The Chorus' reflection on the calm they desire leads them to contemplate death in obscure old age. Reflections on death are common in plays of the early modern period such as Hughes' *The Misfortunes of Arthur*(1587) and Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (1599). In the former Angharat declares that man can take away his own life but cannot escape the clutches of death:

That ech man may bereaue himselfe of life,
But none of death: death is so sure a doome:
A thousand wayes doe guide vs to our graues (1.3.ll.34-6).

Marston also focuses on the certainty of death for Antonio exclaims *Each man takes hence life, but no man death* (3.2.ll.194).

The present discussion merits reference to Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606). The meditations on death presented in the play are manifested in the images of food, land, flesh and the skull of Gloriana.[for discussion of the skull of Gloriana see ll. 1-240 and 413-4]. The latter is the focus of the main themes of the imagery and it draws the theme of

revenge into a powerful focus for it represents a wild form of justice and a savage form of punishment. The skull represents the reality behind the mask, behind the rouged cheeks and painted lips. This is illustrated in Vindice's address to the skull in 1.1:

Thou, sallow picture of my poisoned love,
My study's ornament, thou shell of Death,
Once the bright face of my betrothed lady,
When life and beauty naturally filles out
These ragged imperfections;
When two heaven-pointed diamonds were set
In those unsightly rings- then 'twas a face
So far beyond the artificial shine
Of any woman's complexion (1.1.ll.14-22).

Although it does not advance our argument, we should perhaps observe that the emblem of the skull would be familiar to an audience who were accustomed to the woodcut illustrations from the Dance of Death.[163] The issue of the contemporaneous awareness of the motif of the skull is discussed in Litten's analysis of the funerary trade over the past five hundred years (1991).[164] In the account of the representation of individuals on monuments in Chapter three, Litten comments that the skull was first represented on memorial brasses in the fifteenth century and that the fashion for this representational emblem continued until the end of the sixteenth century.[165] These skeletons are coarse and unpolished, with the details of the eye-sockets and mouth being particularly crudely depicted. The fashion for the symbol of the skull

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[163]Tourneur, C., (1971), *The Revenger's Tragedy: ed. Gibbons* (New York, London): see Introduction.
[164]Litten, J., (1991), *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450* (London).
[165]ibid.: see pp.59ff. for the custom of engraving skeletons.

continued into the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century where it can be seen in funerary art and as a frequent motif on monuments.

This account of Renaissance reflections on the representations of the skull and on death in general may appear somewhat cursory, and thus it will be complemented by a brief examination of the dramatisation of death by Elizabethan playwrights. Andrews (1989) offers an analysis of the manner in which dramatists, from Marlowe to Ford, treated the dying moments of their characters.[166] The central concern of the book focuses on their actions and words as they face death and fulfil the act of dying. The present discussion will only consider the plays of Marston, Shakespeare, Chapman, Tourneur and Webster. Playwrights between the 1590s and c.1610, with the possible exceptions of Chapman, Tourneur and Webster, seem more concerned with those who murder rather than with those who die. This preoccupation may have dictated Marston's departure from the revenge pattern in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599)[see ll. 299-300 and ll.1884-2007]. Shakespeare's lack of interest in the closing moments of those who perish is illustrated by reference to *Titus Andronicus* (1593-4) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1595-6). In the former, of the eight characters whose deaths are presented, Shakespeare does not offer a single death speech; and in the latter, death comes so abruptly to all but Romeo that there is little opportunity for final words. The increased emphasis afforded to the dramatisation of dying moments in Chapman, Tourneur and Webster may be the result of a growing interest in the character of the protagonist.

In Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* (1604), Bussy goes to his death in the spirit of heroic consent:

I must fare well, how ever: though I die,

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[166]Andrews, M.C., (1989), *This Action of our Death* (Newark, London and Toronto).

My death consenting with his augury (5.2.11.68-9).

Chapman's hero does not flee when his murderers approach. Instead, he utters a Herculean speech in which he reveals his acceptance of death by refusing Tamyra's help and by forgiving his murderers:

Let in my politic visitants, let them in,
Though ent'ring like so many moving armours;
Fate is more strong than arms, and sly than treason,
And I at all parts buckled in my Fate:
Dare they not come? (5.3.11.85-6).

Although there is no direct parallel to the *Thyestes*, his acceptance reminds us of the calmness displayed by Thyestes' sons in the face of death and of the Chorus' welcome contemplation of their natural demise.

Tourneur and Webster will provide our final comment on the playwight's mode of presentation of the words of the dying. Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy* (1609) shows that in a handful of the later plays that a greater emphasis is placed on the psychological aspect of the death speech. Levidulcia's moralized death speech expresses the grief and pang of conscience that she feels upon viewing her husband's death at the hands of her lover:

Then thus in detestation of me deed,
To make th'example move more forcibly
To virtue, thus I seal it with a death
As full of horror as my life of sin (4.5.11.82-5).

A similar level of psychological fervour is revealed in Webster's presentation of the death of the Duchess in *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614).[167] She shares with the characters of Bussy and Levidulcia the sentiment that death should be welcomed. The Duchess' immensity of

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[167]ed. used, Webster, J., (1964), *The Duchess of Malfi:ed. by E.M.Brennan* (London).

spirit is highlighted by her responses in 4.2.- for example, in her reaction to Bosola:

.....tell my brothers

That I perceive death, now I am well awake

Best gift is they can give, or I can take (4.2.219-21).

and, in her address to her executioners:

....Come violent death,

Serve for mandragora to make me sleep! (4.2.230-1).

In general, we should observe that tragedies in which the dying are given courageous speeches were unusual in the period 1590-c.1610.

685-6 That knowne he is to muche to other men:/ departeth yet unto him selfe unknowne:

The closing *sententia* (*Qui notus nimis omnibus,/ Ignotus moritur sibi* ll. 400-1)) of Seneca's ode is quoted, without acknowledgement, in Latin in Marston's *The Fawn* (c.1604/6) at lines 9-10 of the section *To my equal reader* . The playwright utilises the Senecan lines to express that he has endeavoured to know himself. These lines are also quoted, without recognition, in Latin in Bacon's *Of Great Place* (1625). Bacon appears to cite these lines in order to legitimise his comments that men of great fortune are strangers to themselves, and that businessmen fail to offer their bodies adequate attention. The failure to ascribe these lines to Seneca could perhaps be seen as an indication that the lines would have been automatically recognisable as Senecan.

687-972 <u>The thyrde Acte:</u>

The act consists of two scenes, in which Thyestes is the prominent figure. In the conversation with his son, Philisthenes, he presents himself as a defender of the merits of the simple life. He reveals his uncertainty

about relinquishing his humble existence and accepting the offer for joint rule. His eulogy on the meagre life style focuses on the existence that he shared with wild beasts (ll.411-2.*mistam feris,/ Similemque; vitam*)- the reference to *feris* alludes to the austerity and naivety often associated with animal life. In this act one sees the weakness of Thyestes' character for he allows himself to be manipulated by his son and his brother. Seneca and Wright both manifest the discordant forces that are fighting within Thyestes. Seneca explores this conflict by means of a conversation between Thyestes and his son, and Wright depicts the same internalised struggle in a soliloquy. Given the nature of the climax of the revenge plan, Thyestes in *MT* (1674) enters alone carrying a bag (s.d. at beginning of the act) which the audience will learn in the following scene contains the cats. Seneca's Thyestes expresses his mistrust at the close of his opening speech with a description of his physical being:

.....animus haeret, ac retro cupit

corpus referre, moueo nolentem gradum (ll.417-8).

The bodily condition as an expression of misapprehension is further employed when Thyestes discloses his fear of something as yet unidentified (l.433.*sed timeo tamen).* He describes the weariness of his limbs and legs which prevent him from travelling forwards (l.434. *pigris membra sed genibus labant*). The parallel act in *MT* also presents Thyestes as a man who is unaware of his own feelings. This lack of resolve is captured in the opening lines:

'Tis good before I further go,

To think if it were best or no (ll.295-6).

The contrary impulses are presented in a legal manner. Wright's Thyestes adopts the persona of a barrister setting forth a case before a jury:

I'le open legally, and plainly.

The Case is thus. A. lies with B.

I. S's Wife: I: S. sends C

To A with formal Invitation

To come and tast of a Collation (11.300-4).

The expression of his indecisiveness is reiterated when Thyestes is beginning his summation:

The Points are two. First whether A.

Should go: or, Secondly, shou'd stay (11.309-10).

The question surrounding his return to his homeland is still unanswered at the close of his soliloquy: *hang me if I can decide it* (l.334) .

The discussion of Thyestes' return to the homeland (11.687ff.) centres on the benefits that the homecoming can bestow upon Thyestes and his descendants. In Seneca these are revealed in the conversation between Thyestes and his son. Philisthenes attempts to induce his father to accept Atreus' invitation because it will reunite him with his family and restore to him his rightful share of power: he reveals that he is attracted by power but oblivious to the dangers that it poses. Thyestes' predilection for the moderate life expresses that he does not value the attraction of power. In his account of the simple life he records the luxuries that are absent from it- for example, the ivory that adorns the roof (l.455.*Nec fulget altis splendidum tecti ebur*) and the consumption of delicacies (l.458.*non ventrem improbum*). These noble sentiments reveal that he is aware of the beliefs that he will betray in the following scene. Seneca presents Thyestes' decision to return to his native land not as a response to the lure of power, but as a result of his concern for his children. In *MT* Thyestes' hesitancy concerning his return to his homeland does not focus on the inducement that power holds, but on the basic principles of self-preservation and self-gratification. The former is illustrated when he expresses that his head begs him to linger because he fears the blows that his back, sides and ears will receive. The human impetus propelling him

towards his native land is his desire to satisfy his appetite. He reveals the nature of the temptation that comestibles and beverages such as *Viands choice and dainty* (l.323), and *Ale as strong as Hercules* (l.326) present. There is also a suggestion that a desire for sexual gratification propels Thyestes to consider accepting the invitation that he has received.

717-20 ..my mynde mysdoutes,/ and backeward seekes to beare/ My bodye hens: and forthe I drawe/ my pase agaynst my wyll:

This description suggests that Thyestes anticipates the villainy that ensues. In 4.3. of *Romeo and Juliet* (1595) Juliet describes her sense of foreboding in terms of its physical effect upon the body:

Farewell! God knows when we shall meet again.
I have a faint cold fear thrills through my veins,
That almost freezes up the heat of life (4.3.ll.14-6).

[for physical description as an indication of forthcoming events see also ll.1654-5].

755-8 So ofte the shippe that driuen is/ with winde and eke with ore,/ The swellyng surge resistyng bothe,/ beates backe upon the shore:

Thyestes employs this comparison to express the nature of his inner struggle- he is drawn to return home because of the attraction of power and wealth, but at the same time he is overwhelmed by a desire to flee. Thus, the metaphor demonstrates the ineffectiveness of struggle. Metaphors concerning wind and tide can also be found in Seneca's *Agamemnon* ll.138-40 and *Hippolytus* ll.181-3. The imagery of wind and tide was popular with Shakespeare.[168] Traces of this Thyestean comparison can be seen in the utilisation of this motif in *3 Henry 6*. The

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[168]Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit. : pp. 75ff. for examples of this metaphor in Shakespeare.

comparison is employed by Edward, Earl of March, to demonstrate the futility of resisting fortune:

As doth a sail, fill'd with a fretting gust,

Command an argosy to stem the waves (2.6.11.35-6).

[further use of the imagery of the storm and sea at 11.1585-6].

771-2 Beleue me well, with titles false/ the greate thyngs us delight.....:

The tribute that Thyestes offers to the virtues of the simple life [Chorus make reference to the simple life at 11.672ff.] is echoed in early modern tragedies- for example, in Goldingham's *Herodes* (1567) the Chorus sings of the blessings of a retired life. In the first Choral ode they reveal that the man who is content with a modest existence will end his days in peace (11.317-28). In the third ode the themes of the first ode are reiterated, and thus one finds the Chorus warning of the instability of high office in an attempt to persuade man to be content with his lot. In Part Second of Buchanan's *Baptistes* (1577) Herod offers a brief eulogy of the simple life (11.220ff.) as he explores the definition of a model ruler. The structure of this glorification is provided by the presentation of a detailed analysis of the differences between the life of a king and that of an ordinary man. He suggests that the common people envy a ruler his wealth and that the king is jealous of the mob's freedom to feel and behave as they please:

.....The vulgar hold

Us only free and happy, that are vexed

With terror, and with poverty besieged,

With miserable servitude opprest.

The people, whatsoever they desire,

Or love, or dread, they freely dare confess,

And modest riches without fear enjoy (Part Second 11.223-9).

861-972 <u>The seconde Sceane:</u>

The opening of the scene consists of an aside by Atreus. This soliloquy demonstrates Atreus' mastery of the situation. Atreus alters as he sees his brother approaching. He strives to voice the appropriate sentiment for this reunion- for example, *quicquid irarum fuit,/ Transierit, ex hoc sanguis ac pietas die/ Colantur, animis odia damnata excidant* (ll.507-9). Thyestes is duped by his brother's show of goodwill. He beseeches his brother to exonerate him, and thus he lays himself before Atreus as a suppliant (ll.519-20. *A genibus manus/ Aufer, meosque; potius amplexus pete*). Initially, he declines the offer for joint rule because he favours the simple life (l.530. *squalor*), regrets his past misdemeanours (ll.530-1.*manus/ Infausta*) and is content merely to enjoy his renewed relationship with his brother (l.533. *Meum esse credo, quicquid est frater tuum*); but his brother manages to persuade him to wear the crown (l.540. *Accipio, regni nomen impositi feram*). The act closes with Atreus' promise to prepare a sacrificial meal for the gods (l.543. *Ego destinatas victimas superis dabo*). This gesture serves as a further illustration of Atreus' cunning, for he will pervert the rite by slaughtering Thyestes' sons.

Wright in *MT* (1674) does not present the conversation between Atreus and Thyestes in a separate scene. The first greetings exchanged between the brothers seem excessive and overly sentimental, especially given Thyestes' recent declaration of doubt concerning his return home:

Atreus: *My dear Thyestes!*
Thyestes: *Dearest Dear!* (l.339).

The dialogue, unlike Seneca's, focuses on the welfare of Atreus' household and the presence of the cats in Thyestes' bag. Thyestes enquires after Atreus' wife, the children and even the dog. The latter is expressed when Thyestes asks about the well being of the Mastiff:

And honest Towser the old Masty? (l.348).

Indications of Atreus' outward appearance are offered by Thyestes who comments that his brother has *grown more tall and bony* (l.351), and that his breeches served as the only means by which he could identify him. In Seneca there is a similar emphasis on details of appearance as tokens of recognition, for Atreus comments on Thyestes' hair (ll.503-4. *aspice, vt multo grauis/ Squalore vultus obruat moestos coma*), beard (l.505. *quam foeda iaceat barba*) and attire (l.522.*squalidam vestem exue*). The motif of the meal forms Atreus' reason for his exit but Wright deprives it of the religious significance that it possesses in Seneca:

Repose a while, pray, in the inner
Parler; and I'le go hasten Dinner (ll.375-6).

868-70 nowe comes into my hands/ At length Thyestes: ye he comes/ and all at ones to me:

Heywood's translation faithfully captures Seneca's duplication of *venit* (l.492, l.493.) with the repetition of the word *comes* (l.868,l.869) . In these lines Atreus expresses his joy as he views the approach of Thyestes and his children (l.493.*et totus quidem*). Marston cites these Latin lines in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) when Antonio discloses his reverence for his father's justice and his love for his brother Julio (3.1.ll.151ff.):

.....venit in nostras manus
Tandem vindicta, venit et tota quidem (3.1.ll.151-2).

Marston substitutes *vindicta* (revenge) for Seneca's reference to *Thyestes*. Marston's use of these lines suggests that Seneca's phrase *et totus quidem* is to be interpreted as an allusion to the totality of Antonio's revenge.

873 So when the bloodhounde seekes the beast.....:

The epic simile is employed by Atreus as an expression of his unbridled desire to meet his brother. This Senecan motif also appears in *Oedipus*

ll.751ff. In Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632) the motif of the comparison to the hound is also used in order to express the avenger's joy as he anticipates the completion of his revenge plan. Moleon utilises the comparison of himself to the Brittany hound who is on the scent of his prey at ll.169ff.:

Canis Britannus vertagus velut celer,
Quando latentis indicem odorem ferae
Hausit rapaci nare, gestit artubus
Cunctis, et ora sufflat, et latratibus
Nictens acutis, praecipit quod non habet,
Et non videt; sed spe tamen videt, et habet.
Sic execrata divitem praedam domus
Percipio blanda specula, et amica tamen,
Certamque facile credo, quia certam volo (ll.169-77).

973-1049 Chorus:

The ode opens with the Chorus expressing that the reconciliation between the brothers alleviates their anxiety. This prompts the Chorus to sing of the changeability of mortal concerns. The parallel ode in *MT* (1674) also opens with reference to the appeasement:

How suddainly these Brothers twain
Fell out? how soon they'r Friends again?
Could any man alive imagine
Peace after such a huff and raging? (ll.377-80).

Thus, Wright attempts to capture the sense of deluded optimism of Seneca's Chorus.

988-9 ....throughout Mycenas lande/ The harnes clynkt, but late of cyuill stryfe:

The Senecan ode alludes to the threat of civil war from which the city has escaped. The Chorus depict in four vignettes the male citizens in their preparations for the attack. In *MT* (1674) Wright belittles the Senecan motif of war by placing it within the domestic scene:

So have I seen (as Poets say)
Domestick Dudgeon in a Fray.
When Coblers Wife 'gainst Cobler, for
Prerogative, denounces War (ll.383-6).

Civil war was a pointed theme after the Protectorate and Wright primarily uses it to belittle the warring factions of the brothers. The warring factions are named as *Cob* and *Tib* (l.387). The use of the slighting playful appellation *Tib* suggests, by its contemporaneous usage, that the female concerned was of the lower orders or of loose moral character. The incongruity between the characteristics that this name suggests and the comparison by simile to Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, in the following lines produces a comic note:

But Tib as valerous as a Lass
As er'e Penthesilea was (ll.389-90).

This reference to the mythological figure denigrates further the Senecan allusion to war, for classical poetry had disclosed her familial relationship to Ares, the Greek war-god. The cognomen *Cob* could be an abbreviation of the word cobbler, or it could have been used to infer that the man concerned was of stout build. In Seneca's ode reference is made to the instruments of war- the sword (*ensis*), the walls (*muros*), towers (*turres*), the parapets on top of the ramparts (*pinnis*), and gates (*portas*) that defend the city. In *MT* the weapons of war are kitchen utensils and the

tools of the cobbler's trade. The Chorus tell that Tib seizes a kitchen implement in order to defend herself:

Then snatches up a basting Ladle.

With which she vows to break his Nodle (ll.393-4).

The Chorus articulate that the cobbler held an *Awle*, a small tool used by shoemakers to puncture holes in leather, in order to convince his wife to accept a truce:

Now Cob takes up his Awle and Pinser,

As the best Weapon to convince her (ll.403-4).

1044-5 for Clothoe myngles all, and suffreth not/ Fortune to stande...:

These lines offer a mistaken view of the orthodox Stoic view of fate. Seneca's makes reference to forces such as Clotho in order to reveal man's inability to control his own destiny. It may be useful at this point to offer a definition of the Stoic view of the term *fate*. For the Stoic, the concept of fate served, in part at least, as a means by which the reason for event X could be explained.[169] Briefly, one could assert that it amounts to the law of cause and effect. Aulus Gellius recounts Chrysippus' view of fate:

Fate is a sempiternal and unchangeable series and chain of things, rolling and unravelling itself through eternal sequences of cause and effect, of which it is composed and compounded. [170]

The Stoic concept of the all-pervasive nature of the divinely ordered universe is explored fully in Seneca's *Oedipus*. The Oedipus legend shows that the individual, in certain circumstances, possesses no control over his own destiny- fate has ordained that Oedipus slay Laius, that the young man wed his mother. In the story, one sees fate challenged by the audacity

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[169]Long, A.A., (1971), *Problems in Stoicism* (London): p. 178 on causality.
[170]Aulus Gellius 7.2.1-14 (SVF 2.1000).

of a young man; although he contests fate's decrees, he will find himself guilty of the lot which fate has ordained for him.

The Stoic doctrine concerning fatalism permeates plays of the early modern period.[171] Webster explores the Stoic tenet of a predetermined plan at 5.4.11.53ff. of *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613) when Bosola says :

We are merely stars' tennis balls, struck and bandied
Which way please them (5.4.11.53-4).

The use of the metaphor of the tennis ball could be viewed as a parallel to the Stoic illustration of fate as a dog bound to a cart- thus, revealing that the individual will harmonise its movements with the moving object, regardless of whether or not he is willing to do so. It is though, difficult to determine whether Webster was drawing on Senecan or Stoical ideas.[172] The metaphor itself was common in the early modern period- there is however, no verbal comparison to Webster's lines. The idea that man does not possess free will is not only a Senecan and Stoic idea- Webster could have gleaned it from, for example, Plautus' *The Prisoners*. The speaker of the *Prologue* says that men are toys for the gods. In The *Duchess of Malfi* there are parallels to Senecan texts- for instance, the Duchess' comment at 4.2.11.211-2 that there are many ways for man to die is similar to 11.152-3 of Seneca's *Phoenissae* (*eripere vitam nemo non homini potest,/ at nemo mortem; mille ad hanc aditus patent*), but the idea may have been gleaned from the lines of his contemporaries without regard for classical precedent. The same could be said of Webster's use of the phrase *When we know black deeds must be cured with death* (5.4.1.40). The line appears as a remodelling of the Senecan line in *Agamemnon* 1.115 (*per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter*)- it

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[171]Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit.:pp. 76ff. for Senecan fatalism in Shakespeare.
[172]Dent, R.W., (1960), *John Webster's Borrowing* (Berkeley and Los Angeles) for Webster's sources.

could however, have been drawn from the compositions of his contemporaries [for citation in early modern period see ll.79-81 The Preface].

1050-1381 The fourth Acte:

The Messenger recounts the slaughter and mutilation of Thyestes' children. The description of this heinous deed reveals that it took the form of a perversion of the sacrificial ritual. The location of the action of the narrative account changes- it mutates from the grove outside the palace (*Alta vetustum valle compescens nemus,/ Penetrale regni* ll.649-50) to the dining hall in the interior of the palace.

In *MT* (1674) the location of the slaughter is banalised by being firmly fixed within a recognisable domestic sphere:

VVhen out; the door he opening wide,
Beckons the Kittins a to side.
Suspecting nought, they follow; whom
He leads into a Drawing Room,
Which was a neat convenient place
Contriv'd just under the stair-case (ll.489-94).

The parallel passage retains the tragic feature of the Messenger who is reluctant to impart bad news. In the opening exchanges between the Chorus and the Messenger, Wright imitates Seneca's depiction of the weight of the news that the Messenger has to bear, and the Chorus' encouragement of the Messenger to speak. The former is revealed at ll.425ff.:

Oh! heavy News as happen'd ere yet!
So heavy I can scarcely bear it (ll.425-6).

The similarities between the Chorus in Seneca and *MT* is explored further when the Chorus articulate their reaction to the Messenger's tale

of the slaughter. In *MT* their judgement of the deed, their expression of disbelief that there could be worse news to bear, and their enquiry after the care of the corpses echo the lines of the Senecan Chorus. The latter is conveyed in Seneca at ll.745-6 (*obiecit feris/ Lanianda forsan corpora, atque igne arcuit?*) and in Wright at ll.511ff.:

Did he for Hawks- meat keep the Carren?
Or hang 'em up in the next Warren (ll.511-2).

Wright appears to have mirrored Seneca's lines in order to parody the tragedy for the Chorus react in a similar manner to crimes that are dissimilar in magnitude- one does not expect an individual to react to the slaughter of a cat in the same way that they would to the violent death of a child. At this stage, it is opportune to consider why Wright may have chosen to substitute Thyestes' cats for the children of Seneca's play. This may have been dictated by the significance of the motif of the wife in the burlesque: the term *Puss* (l.475) which features in the Messenger's account of the action, was a current colloquial word for a woman.[173] This is illustrated by the Messenger's report of Atreus' expression of his love for cats:

He loves a Puss as a well as any (l.475).

Given this definition of the term *Puss* , the revenge action could be seen to symbolise the destruction of Thyestes' woman (*Puss*) as recompense for the slaughter of Atreus' woman (*Jenny* l.163). In Seneca the victims of Atreus' anger are two in number (*Tantalus prima hostia est* l.716; *Tunc ille ad aras Plisthenem saeuus trahit,/ Adicitque fratri* ll.724-5), whereas in Wright the casualties number three:

There were three dainty Tabby Cats (l.437).

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[173] *OED* s.v. (Pussy).

Wright does not attempt to mirror the violence of Seneca's account of the slaughter. In Seneca the Messenger describes the manner in which the carcasses were divided into quarters, the flesh carved from the bones and the arms cut off. The account also offers details of the roasting and boiling of sections of the bodies. The details of this cooking technique are similar to those offered in the *Aeneid* (Book one, ll.212ff.)- Vergil depicts the preparation of game for consumption. Vergil recounts the tearing of the hides from the ribs, the cutting of the meat into steaks, the placement of the flesh onto spits and the use of cauldrons for cooking. The traditional aspect of the cooking style presented in *Thyestes* is further illustrated in Book One of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[174] At ll.226ff. Ovid describes the mutilation, boiling and roasting of a hostage:

nec contentus eo, missi de gente Molossa
obsidis unius iugulum mucrone resolvit
atque ita semineces partim ferventibus artus
mollit aquis, partim subiecto torruit igni (Book One ll.226-9).

In *MT* graphic details concerning the stabbing and mutilation of the victims are absent, in keeping with the tone of the play. However, Atreus' reported reference to the *Butchers* (l.517) and the menu for the meal does suggest that the carcasses are to be dismembered. The Messenger's account of Atreus' disussion of the menu for the dinner that he will prepare for Thyestes denigrates the tragic motif of the feast:

Then reckons up his Bill of Fare.
This shall a roasted Cony be.
And this shall make a Fricasee.
And thou, quoth he, that there dost lye,
Sha't make an excellent Hare-Pye (ll.52-4).

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[174]Ovid *Metamorphoses* : Loeb ed. (London, 1916).

Wright's attempt to belittle the motif of the feast is expressed in the report of Atreus' comments concerning the rarity of meat:

Butchers are scarce, and dear their Meat:

You'l make a most obleiging Treat.

Delitious Diet, oh how rare! (ll.517-9).

Wright retains Seneca's emphasis (ll.776-7. *lancinat gnatos pater,/ Artusque mandit ore funesto suos*) in the Messenger's report on the fact that Thyestes was unaware of the nature of what he had consumed at the feast:

And now Thyestes (oh sad thought!)

Eats his own Cats, suspecting nought (ll.527-8).

Reference to darkness forms the substance of the closing lines of the Messenger's speech in *Thyestes* and the burlesque. This is illustrated in Seneca by allusion to the flight of the sun (ll.774-6. *O Phoebe patiens fugeris retro licet,/ Medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem,/ Sero occidisti*) as a response to the horror of events. In *MT* the reference to darkness is blatant and deliberately overturns the symbolic significance of the Senecan lines:

Methinks 'tis very dark; I think

I'de best go in and light a Link (ll.529-30).

Wright probably retained these elements in an attempt to preserve the recognisable elements of the myth.

In a handful of early modern revenge tragedies a character is used, like Seneca's Messenger, to relate the climax of the revenge action. Seneca's vivid description and his development of the character of the Messenger may account for the degree of influence that this scene can be seen to have exerted. The former is manifested in the Messenger's sketch of the brutal slaughter of the sons- he describes the sword hiding in the lacerations that Atreus has made (l.720.*In vulnere ensem abscondit*), and the vehemence

with which Atreus drives the sword (l.720. *penitus premens*). In *Thyestes* the Messenger is not simply a means by which those actions that have taken place off stage can be related to the audience as in *Medea* ll.879-90; Seneca attempts to involve the Messenger in the narrative, suggesting his reactions to the horrors of which he speaks.

In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) 5.1. Renuchio reports the death of the Earl, the mutilation of his corpse and Tancred's wish for the Earl's heart to be presented to Gismund. R.W., unlike Seneca, makes his Chorus react to these details- thus, emphasizing the heinous nature of the crime:

O hateful fact! O passing crueltie!
O murder wrought with too much hard despite!
O hainous deede, which no posteritie
Wil once beleeue! (ll.1576-9).

The interaction between the Chorus and Renuchio appears similar to the structure of the fourth act in *Thyestes*. R.W's Chorus like that of Seneca prompt the bearer of news to speak, for they beseech Renuchio to disclose the nature of his tidings:

Tel therfore what hath chaunst, and whereunto
This bloudy cup thou holdest in thy hand (ll.1411-2).

In *Hippolytus* ll.991ff. and *Agamemnon* 406aff. Seneca presents messengers who are, initially, disinclined to report the information they know, to sustain dramatic tension. The audience know the myths already and the fate of the characters, so Seneca is making them wait for how he will retell it. The comments and questions with which the Chorus respond to Renuchio's news are used, as in Seneca, to divide the narrative. This is illustrated at ll.1519ff. when they reveal their reactions to the description of the strangulation of the Earl (l.1517)- at l.1519 they openly condemn the deed. This denunciation is developed further when they enquire whether greater suffering can be bestowed on the body

(ll.1522-3). These responses echo the remarks of Seneca's Chorus- for example, at l.741 (*Saeuum scelus*) and ll.743-4 (*An vltra maius, aut atrocius/ Natura recipit?*) they disclose their disapproval of Atreus' acts.

Cary's Senecan play, *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), reproduces the feature of dramatic tension. In 5.1. the Nuntio reports to Herod details concerning Mariam's death. The Nuntio, like the Messenger in *Thyestes* , expresses the insufferable nature of the burden of the news that he must bear:

When, sweetest friend, did I so far offend
Your heavenly self, that you, my fault to quit,
Have made me now relator of her end,
The end of beauty, chastity and wit? (ll.1878-81).

Cary, like Seneca, does not colour the description of the death and mutilation of Mariam with a graphic depiction of bloodshed. The Nuntio's account of her decapitation is factual:

Her body is divided from her head (l.1967).

In this scene the depiction of the innocence, courage and purity of Mariam (ll. 1902ff) is of paramount importance, and thus details surrounding her death are limited.

These playwrights mirrored Seneca's ability to bring his audience close to the action without involving them in it.

1109-1114 where neuer grew no tree/ That cherefull bowes is woont to beare,/ with knife or lopped be,/ But Taxe, and Cypresse and with tree/ of Holme full blacke to se/ Dothe beeke and bende the woode so darke:

The Messenger describes the grove where the slaughter of the children took place. There is a description of a grove in Seneca's *Oedipus* ll.530-47. Creon reveals that the grove where Laius is raised from the Underworld lies outside the city, stands near the Vale of Dirce and is made up of a wide

variety of trees. The account of the vegetation in *Thyestes*, unlike that in *Oedipus*, focuses of the darkness of the trees (ll.652-4 *Sed taxus, et cupressus, et nigra ilice/ Obscura nutat sylua, quam supra eminens/ Despectat alte quercus, et vincit nemus*). The details of the grove resemble those offered by Shakespeare of the vale which provided the backdrop for the murder of Bassianus and the rape of Lavinia in *Titus Andronicus* (1590). In 2.3. Tamora describes the *barren detested vale* (2.3.1.93). The emphasis in the description, as in Seneca, is on the darkness and infertility of the location:

The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,
O'ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe:
Here never shines the sun (2.3.11.94-6).

1244-6 All careles of him selfe he stoode,/ nor once he woulde in vayne/ His prayers leese:

The Messenger describes the dignity and calmness with which Tantalus accepts his fate. In the early modern period the Stoic tenet of constancy was a popular issue. The topical nature of this doctrine is attested by the publication of Justus Lipsius' *de Constantia* (1595). The work offered various definitions of free will, providence, justice and fate. The publication and translation history of this text in England reveals the popularity of this aspect of Stoic philosophy. Two Latin editions of the text were printed in England in 1586 and 1592; these were soon followed by John Stradling's translation in 1594. There were three further English translations published in 1653, 1654 and 1670. This stability of mind is captured in 3.1. of Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). Julio accepts his death at the hands of Antonio because he feels safe in the love that exists between them:

So you will love me, do even what you will (3.1.1.186).

The Stoic feeling of constancy in the face of adversity is echoed in Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613). The Messenger in 5.1. depicts Mariam's invulnerability as she faces her death:

.....Why on she went,
And after she some silent prayer had said,
She did as if to die she were content,
And thus to heaven her heavenly soul is fled (ll.1960-3).

1322-4 When him the sacrifice had pleasde,/ his diligence he putts/ To dresse his brothers banquet now:

The Messenger reveals that Atreus applied the same level of attention to his role as chef as he did to his role as sacrificer (ll.757-8. *securus vacat/ Iam fratris epulis*). Shakespeare appears to invoke the Thyestean banquet for the final image of *Titus Andronicus* (1590)- presenting his avenger, like Atreus, as the cook for the cannibalistic feast. This is illustrated in 5.2. when Titus discusses his new role:

Let me go grind their bones to powder small,
And with this hateful liquor temper it,
And in that paste let their vile heads be baked.
Come, come, be everyone officious
To make this banquet, which I wish may prove
More stem and bloody than the Centaurs' feast.
So, now bring them in, for I'll play the cook,
And see them ready against their mother comes (5.2.ll.199-206).

Shakespeare, unlike Seneca, emphasises the madness of the revenger for whom no other reality exists apart from the desire for vengeance. This is depicted in 5.3. with Titus' melodic couplet concerning the pie in which he has baked the bones of Chiron and Demetrius (5.3.ll.59):

Whereof their mother daintily hath fed,

Eating the flesh that she herself hath bred (5.3.11.60-1).

Shakespeare, though may have drawn his inspiration for this scene from Ovid- in Book Six of the *Metamorphoses* he narrates Procne's cooking technique as she prepares the bodies of Tereus' children for the feast:

vivaque adhuc animaeque aliquid retinentia membra
dilaniant. pars inde cavis exsultat aenis,
pars veribus stridunt; manant penetralia tabo (Book Six 11.643-7).

There are further similarities between Shakespeare and Ovid surrounding the depiction of the cannibalistic feast- a parent devours the children's bodies unwittingly and the cook reveals the nature of the food that has been consumed.[175] This evidence clearly suggests that Ovid is the leading classical model shaping Shakespeare's play, and that it is only when we are blinded by a determination to see the influence of Seneca in the drama that we repress the notion of Ovid as the principal source. [refer to 11.299-300 for a reminder that Seneca rewrites the Ovidian scene].

Before the discussion of *Titus Andronicus* closes, we should consider Baker's comments on the classical model for Shakespeare's play (1965).[176] Baker reveals that the details of the cannibalistic feast are different in *Titus Andronicus* , Seneca and Ovid; but that the emblem of a raped and mutilated woman aiding in the action of vengeance is common only to Ovid and Shakespeare. The essay continues to suggest the influence of Ovid, even minimising Seneca's ability to mould Shakespeare's descriptions of the violent and horrific events of the play. Thus, we are aware that an emphasis on gruesome vengeance and horror is not enough to signify a definite Senecan influence.

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[175]ibid.: Book 6 ll.650-1 for the depiction of Tereus devouring his children; Book 6 ll.653ff, for the revelation.
[176]Baker, op.cit.: pp.122ff.

The cannibalistic feast, as in *Thyestes*, serves as the climax of the revenge action in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). Given the use of lines from *Thyestes* in Marston's play, it seems feasible to conclude that the depiction of the presentation of human flesh for consumption was the result of the influence of Seneca's play. In 5.3. Antonio presents Piero with a dish containing Julio's limbs:

Here lies a dish to feast thy father's gorge.

Here's flesh and blood which I am sure thou lov'st (5.3.ll.79-80).

In Act 5 of *Roxana* (1632) Alabaster draws on the mythic archetype of the Thyestean cannibalistic feast. At ll.1373ff. Atossa reveals that she has prepared the bodies of Roxana's children for Oromasdes to devour:

Amavit ille liberos, & pellicem,

Vitae potentes, ut nihil par aut supra:

Ecquemne credis suaviorem mortuis

Cibum parari posse? (ll.1373-6).

The reference in Alabaster's play to the mythic figure of the legend of the house of Atreus reveal that the portrayal of the cannibalistic feast may have been an element imitated directly from *Thyestes*. The fascination with the myth is disclosed by Atossa at ll. 1384-5 and by the Chorus at ll.1317ff. Atossa alludes to the myth when she asserts before the Chorus her desire to surpass others in crime:

Nihil Thyestem, Tantalum nihil supra

Conabor? (ll.1384-5).

The Chorus also equate Atossa's crime with that of Atreus in *Thyestes*:

Ad tua quondam fata Thyestes

Flexit refugam lampada Phoebus,

Et caeruleo proluit haustu

Nondum emeritos fine jugales:

Non minor haec est causa latendi,

Et digna tuo Pheobe exilio (ll.1317-22).

The Chorus sings of the reluctant light that Phoebe shed in order to show Thyestes the nature of his brother's crimes. They ask that this light should shine again.

1325-9 and streyght a soonder cutts/ The bodies into quarters all,/ and by the stoompes anone/ The shoulders wide, and brawnes of armes,/ he strikes of euery chone:

The Messenger offers an account of the mutilation of the bodies [see also ll.1332-3]. In *Hippolytus* Seneca offers a further example of dismemberment. At ll.1080ff. the Messenger narrates the force with which Hippolytus was torn apart as his body was dragged along behind his horses:

moribunda celeres membra provolvunt rotae;
tandemque raptum truncus ambusta sude
medium per inguem stipite erecto tenet,
paulumque domino currus affixo stetit.
haesere biiuges vulnere- et pariter moram
dominumque rumpunt. inde semanimem secant
virgulta, acutis asperi vepres rubis
omnisque truncus corporis partem tulit (ll.1097-1104).

Seneca strived in his tragedies to create gory adaptations of Greek stories. This was doubtless a result of the need for drama to fit a Roman environment in which violence was conceived as institutionalised punishment- convicts fought as gladiators in the arena. Violence was also an integral part of the society of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They would have appreciated the similarities between the butchering of the children and their quartering of criminals- they would

also, however, have acknowledged the difference between destroying innocent lives and the lives of those society deemed disposable.

Seneca's association of dismemberment with the revenge theme in *Thyestes* is imitated in other early modern tragedies. In *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2) Renuchio, the bearer of bad tidings, relates the nature of the mutilation of the Earl's corpse. At ll.1549ff. he recounts that the murderers pierced the Earl's stomach, tore the *warme entralles* (l.1553) from his breast, tossed aside his bowels and ripped out his heart:

His trembling heart, yet leaping, out they tore,
And cruelly vpon a rapier
They fixt the same, and in this hateful wise
Vnto the king this heart they do present (ll.1559-62).

Dissection of the human body features in Jonson's *Sejanus: his fall* (1603), a tragedy which opened with the depiction of a desire for revenge and closed with the narration of the story of the fall of Tiberius' favourite.[177] In act 5 Terentius is employed in order to convey the dismemberment of Sejanus that has taken place off stage. He tells Lepidus and Arruntius that enraged old men, virgins, mothers and widows tore the corpse limb from limb:

These mounting at his head, these at his face,
These digging out his eyes, those with his braine,
Sprinkling themselues, their houses and their friends;
Others are met, haue rauish'd thence an arme,
And deale small pieces of the flesh for fauours;
These with a thigh; this hath cut off his hands;
And this his feet; these fingers, and these toes;
That hath his liuer, he his heart (5.ll.818-25).

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[177] Jonson, B., op.cit.: vol.IV.

The extent of the mutilation is confirmed when Terentius remarks that Sejanus does not need a grave because his body lies scattered.

1332-3 The only heds he keepes, and hands/ to him comitted ones:

Atreus' preservation of the heads and hands of his victims accords with the rites of a sacrifice. The action of the play leads one to consider that this conservation is prompted by an awareness of the hands as a symbol of the pledge between the brothers (see ll. 518-9: *obsides fidei accipe/ Hos innocentes frater*), and the heads as valuable tokens of recognition.

In *Titus Andronicus* (1590) the motif of the severed hand is also used to represent the violation of a bond of trust. This is illustrated by the Messenger at 3.1.ll.235ff.. His presentation of the heads of Titus' sons and Titus' hand reveals that the Emperor has renegued upon his pledge to spare the lives of the sons for the price of a hand. In the play Shakespeare alludes in 4.1. to the motif of the severed hand in order to effect a form of poetic redress for the injuries that Lavinia has received. She is able to reveal the names of her attackers even though she does not possess hands with which to write nor, a tongue with which to speak- the staff which she guides in the sand with her stumps writes:

Stuprum. Chiron. Demetrius (4.1.l.78).

1382-1477 <u>Chorus:</u>

In this ode the Chorus express their reaction to the darkness that covers the scene. It considers that the overthrow of the normal pattern of day following night could be the result of a resurgence of the clash between the gods and the Giants. The members of the Chorus reveal that their worst fear is that the absence of light may mean the destruction of the Universe. [for the Universe reacting to human events see ll.1728-9].

1382 Whiche way O prince of lands and godds on hie:

The ode opens with an address to the sun- this is indicated by the use of the epithet *terrarum superumque parens*. The parallel ode in *MT* (1674) also invokes a being of the highest order- *Don John of Arles* (l.531). Wright gives the addressee the common Christian name John. One should consider that the title Don John may be a generic term for a continental grandee. The opening of Wright's ode imitates the Senecan pattern of a series of questions. Wright imitates Seneca's allusion to the lack of light (l.791. *Cur Phoebe tuos rapis aspectus?*) when the Chorus ask Don John:

What makes you hide behind a Cloud

That pretty Face, as if grown proud? (ll.533-4).

1438 With pathe a sloape that dothe deuide the Zones.:

The Chorus offer an elegant account of each of the signs of the zodiac. They begin with a portrait of Aries (ll.1442-4) and close with a reference to Pisces (l.1459). The description of Aries alludes to Helle and Phrixus' flight on the Ram; the account of the sign of Leo suggests Hercules' slaying of the lion (ll.1448ff.); and the description of Sagittarius refers to the archer-centaur Chiron (ll.1453-5). In the parallel ode in *MT* (1674) the Chorus also sing of the signs of the zodiac. Wright begins his account with a reference to Taurus and closes with the mention of Scorpio but does not allude to mythological events. The signs are discussed in human terms, and thus Wright attempts to belittle Seneca's account- for example, the description of Gemini refers to the inability of the twins to embrace in silence; and Cancer is depicted in terms of a frightened individual.Virgo is portrayed as an ill-treated being whose sufferings have forced her to dissociate herself from her symbolic value as ultimate purity:

Virgo they ve so abus'd, they force her

To loose her Name, and take a Coarser.

For who can think her Chast, with whom

Men so familiar are become? (11.557-60).

The sketches of the signs are unbalanced- the accounts of Taurus, Gemini and Cancer receive two lines each, Virgo is given four lines, and the references to Leo, Sagittarius and Scorpio are fleeting.

1476-7 He greedy is of lyfe, that will not die/ when all the world shall ende with him at last:

This graceful declamation for fondness of life forms part of the Chorus' discussion of the disintegration of the universe. Jonson in *Catiline* (1611) echoes Senecan sentiments on death as a welcome release from a world that is on the brink of collapse:

Who would not fall with all the world about him? (3.1.179).

1478-1883 <u>The fifth Acte:</u>

In the first scene Atreus articulates his delight as he sees his revenge plan coming to fruition. The second scene reveals Thyestes at the feast. In the final scene Atreus presents his brother with the remnants of his children's mutilated corpses.

1478 Nowe equall with the starrs I goe:

Atreus articulates with vigour the elation that he is experiencing as he views the chaos that his revenge action has prompted [see also ll.1528-9 and 1851]. His words express the idea of the elevated heights that Atreus believes he has reached. This is conveyed in the phrase *Aequalis astris gradior* (l.883) . Atreus reveals that he has no further use for the powers of heaven and thus, he discharges the gods (l.886. *Dimitto superos*). He

betrays that he is experiencing a brief moment of contentment (l.887 *Bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi*).

In *MT* (1674) the depiction of the satisfaction of the avenger is tinged with humour. This is achieved by the comparison drawn by Atreus between himself and a building:

So: Now I ve taken a Revenge
Will be as Famous as Stone-Henge (ll.571-2).

This reference to this monument suggests that Wright and his contemporaries failed to acknowledge the different periods of history by grouping events and symbols of the past together without differentiation. The allusion to a monument whose origins lie in the past may have been employed in order to legitimise Atreus' sense of elation, although comparison of a human being to a building is also amusing. The allusion to this monument may have been merely the result of finding a rhyme for the word 'revenge'. The nature of this comparison is lessened when Atreus chooses to express that his revenge is complete by reference to the *Clap* (l.578) that a *Whore* (l.578) can infect her partners with:

How kindly I did circumvent,
And treat him in a Punishment;
Yet gin't him too as home and fully
As ever Whore gave Clap to Bully (ll.575-8).

The sexual nature of the vocabulary underlines the significance of the adultery motif in *MT*.

The expression of the exultation of the revenger is echoed in early modern revenge tragedies. This sense of elation is captured in R.W.'s *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2). It is not voiced by the avenger himself. Renuchio, a captain of Tancred's guard, narrates the exulted nature of Tancred's reaction to the sight of the Earl's heart on the *bloodie sword* (l.1566):

Vnto the king this heart they do present:

A sight longd for to feede his irefull eies.

The king perceiuing each thing to be wrought

As he had wilde, reioysing to behold

Vpon the bloudie sword the pearced heart (ll.1562-6).

The release that follows the completion of revenge is expressed by the tyrant Piero in *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). Piero relates in 1.1. the difficulties that he is experiencing in restraining the passion concerning his triumph over Andrugio:

I can scarce coop triumphing vengeance up

From bursting forth in braggart passion (1.1.ll.11-2).

This sense of elation is developed in the following lines when he discloses that he feels *great in blood,/ Unequal'd in revenge* (1.1.ll.17-8). The tyrant's complacency is emphasised by his desire to receive acclaim for his actions from the advance guard:

That sentinel swart night, give loud applause

From your large palms (1.1.ll.19-20).

Antonio voices the satisfaction of the revenger in 3.2. and 5.3.. In the former, sentiments disclosing the contentment of the avenger follow Antonio's murder of Julio. He asserts that his soul is *enthron'd* in the *triumphant chariot of revenge* (3.2.ll.80-1). The reference to the chariot suggests that the motion of the revenger's actions are unstoppable. Marston echoes Seneca's idea of transformation(*acqualis astris gradior*) as a means to express complacency. Antonio discloses that *Julio's blood* (3.2.ll.83) has altered his human form:

Methinks I am all air and feel no weight

Of human dirt clog. This is Julio's blood;

Rich music, father! (3.2.ll.82-4).

In 5.3. Antonio reveals his sense of triumph over Piero. This jubilance is discussed in financial terms. This is illustrated when Antonio responds to the second senator's comment that he is a poor orphan (5.3.I.136):

Poor?

Standing triumphant over Belzebub?

Having large interest for blood; and yet deem'd poor? (5.3.II.137-9).

In Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607) Hippolito manifests the jubilation of the avenger in an aside to Vindice:

Brother, how happy is our vengeance! (5.1.I.134).

These sentiments are reiterated in Vindice's response. He comments to Hippolito that the triumph of their revenge has surpassed the comprehension of ordinary people:

Why, it hits

Past the apprehension of indifferent wits (5.1.II.134-5).

Verbal demonstration of the delight of the revenger is reiterated in Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (c.1610-11). Clermont in 5.5. voices the satisfaction that he feels upon wounding Montsurry:

These words, this end, makes full amends and more (5.5.I.115).

He reveals that the fatal blow that his brother's murderer has received avenges his brother's untimely death. The feeling that justice has been met is echoed in the following lines (5.5.II.116ff.) when Clermont tells the soul of Bussy that it can now rest in peace:

Rest, worthy soul; and with it the dear spirit

Of my lov'd brother rest in endless peace!

Soft lie thy bones, Heaven be your soul's abode,

And to your ashes be the earth no load! (5.5.II.116-9).

1528-9 ...now cheefe of godds,/ in highest place I stande:

Atreus' comment that he possesses this elevated position expresses the protagonist's sense of victory as he views Thyestes in the open hall of the palace [for references to exultation of the avenger see l.1478]. Piero's utilisation in *Antonio and Mellida* (1599) of Seneca's line concerning the acquisition of divine status legitimises his role as a tyrant:

...O me coelitum excelsissimum! (1.1.1.77).

The quotation suggests that Marston considered Atreus to be the archetypal tyrant.

1546-1595 <u>The seconde Sceane:</u>

1546 O beaten bosomes dullde so longe with woe:

The opening section of Thyestes' soliloquy takes the form of a jovial song, but as the soliloquy progresses his intoxification unleashes his inner unease, and thus the song is reduced to a series of expressions of his personal misery and suffering. The form of the drunken song also features in *MT* (1674). Atreus at the close of his soliloquy (ll.587) reveals that Thyestes is singing *Old Rose* (l.587) and *Jovial Ca'ches* (l.587) . It has not been possible to find a score for these songs- this is not unusual, for melodies of this period, however popular, often failed to find their way into print. In the Senecan and Wright texts the opening of the songs are both concerned with exhortations to lay aside one's cares. In Seneca this encouragement is marked by the repetition of *fugiat*:

Fugiat moeror, fugiatque pauor,

Fugiat trepidid comes exilij (ll.920-1).

In Wright the performance of the song appears of greater importance than the meaning of the lines- for example, Thyestes sings a line of

encouragement to cast aside one's cares and then promptly moves to comment on the key in which he has sung it:

Come lay by your Care, and- No, no,

That's not the Key, I am too low.

Try once more- Come lay by your Care

And hang up your sorrow- I there! (ll.591-4).

The change in tone in Thyestes' song in the Senecan text is paralleled in *MT*. Wright presents Thyestes consciously searching for a more *Melancholick* (l.600) song, and thus he sings *Beneath a Mirtle shade* (l.601). The song in both the Senecan and Wright texts prompts Thyestes to recount the details of his unease. In Seneca, Thyestes describes the garland falling from his head, his hair standing on end and tears pouring down his face:

Vernae capiti fluxere rosae:

Pingui madidus crinis amomo

Inter subitos stetit horrores.

Imber vultu nolente cadit (ll.945-8).

Heywood fails to translate the adjective *vernae* - thus, Seneca's specific reference to *Spring* (l.1573) roses is absent. In Wright's burlesque the dispirited nature of the song also causes Thyestes to weep:

For now my Tears begin to come.

And whosoeuer dares engage her,

I'le weep with Maudlin for a Wager (ll.602-4).

The reference to *Maudlin* is a variation of the proper name Magdalen(e), and was often used to allude to paintings in which Mary Magdalen was depicted indulging in self-indulgent and self-obsessed tears as she contemplated her sins. Thus, *maudlin* in common usage was used to mean tearful. It should be noted that *maudlin* tears are sentimental ones, and are often associated with drunkenness.

1585-6 the sturdye stormes the shipmen ouerlye,/ When voyde of wynde thasswaged seas doe rest:

This comparison serves to illustrate Thyestes' belief that man is presented with indications of future danger. He fails to apply this reasoning to his own situation, and thus he shows his disrespect for the signs of impending doom that have been shown to him. The question of man's disregard of suggestions of approaching hazards is illustrated in King *Richard 3* (1591) 2.3.11.42ff. by the use of a simile concerning the swelling of the sea[178]:

By a divine instinct men's minds mistrust
Ensuing dangers; as, by proof, we see
The waters swell before a boisterous storm (2.3.11.42-4)

[for Seneca's use of the imagery of the storm see 11.775-8].

1596-1883 <u>The thyrde Sceane:</u>

1654-5 What tumulte tumbleth so my gutts,/ and dothe my bowells gnawe?:

Thyestes' description of his physical condition can be interpreted as a manifestation of the effects of the acceptance of joint rule or as an expression of forthcoming danger [for decription of foreboding in physical terms see 11.717-20] . In *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) Hughes explores the internalisation of drama as a vehicle for disclosing sentiments of apprehension. Mordred describes his physical being as a response to his sense of foreboding at the prospect of engaging in combat:

..... *my minde reuolts to feare,*

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[178]Cunliffe, [1893], op.cit.: p. 77 for further examples in Shakespeare of the Senecan presentiment of evil.

And beares my body backe: I inwards feele my fall.

My thoughts misgeue me much: downe terror: I

Perceiue mine ende: and desperate though I must

Despise Dispaire, and somewhat hopeless hope (2.4.11.80-4).

Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted 1589, printed without date in 1592) features the narration of physical sensation as an indication of the individual's apprehension. Hieronimo speaks of the fear that trembles within his heart as a further expression of the unknown force that disturbs him (2.5.1.2):

What outcries pluck me from my naked bed,

And chill my throbbing heart with trembling fear,

Which never danger yet could daunt before? (2.5.11.1-3).

1728-9 Oh this is it that shamde the godds:/ and day from hens dyd dryue:

These lines illustrate the Stoic belief that the Universe reacts to the chaos in man's world [see also ll.1382-1477]. [179] This doctrine has been illustrated by the Messenger at ll.770-3 when he describes the fire's unwillingness to burn- it suggests that this elemental force is repulsed by the prospect of the cannibalistic feast. The opening lines of Seneca's *Oedipus* generate a picture of a world which reacts to the perversions of nature- namely, Oedipus' marriage to his mother. Seneca describes the burdensome mist which extends across Thebes, the moon whose rays are dimmed at night and the rivers which run dry:

deseruit amnes umor atque herbas color

aretque Dirce, tenuis Ismenos fluit

et tinguit inopi nuda uix unda uada.

obscura caelo labitur Phoebi soror,

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[179]Monsarrat, op.cit.: pp.152ff. on cosmology.

tristisque mundus nubilo pallet nouo.

nullum serenis noctibus sidus micat,

sed grauis et ater incubat terris uapor (ll.41-7).

Thyestes alludes to the theme of darkness that permeates *Thyestes* - the Fury forecasts Phoebe's flight at ll.119-20, the retreat has taken effect at ll. 774-6 and ll.787-882. In 2.4 of *Macbeth* (1606) the unnatural absence of daylight is employed as a symbol of evil. The conversation between Ross and an Old Man reveals that darkness covers the world as a result of the murder of Duncan:

Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,

Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock, 'tis day,

And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp;

Is't night's predominance, or the day's shame,

That darkness does the face of earth entomb,

When living light should kiss it? (2.4.ll.5-10).

In Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613) the motif of the absence of light is employed to express Herod'd grief at the loss of his wife:

Deny thy beams, and moon, refuse thy light,

Let all the stars be dark, let Jewry's eye

No more distinguish which is day and night,

Since her best birth did in her bosom die (ll.2076-9).

1744 Thy swoorde (o brother) lende to me:

Thyestes responds to Atreus' revelation with a desire to take his own life (ll.1042-3 *Da frater ensem: sanguinis multum mei/ Habet ille: ferro liberis demus viam*). He asks his brother for the sword so that he may liberate his children's bodies from within him. Thyestes reiterates this desire at ll.1836-1842 when he beseeches Jupiter to strike him with lightning in order to provide a fitting burial for his children. It is worth

noting, even though it does not advance the discussion, that Seneca himself committed suicide. Tacitus in his *Annales* offers an account of Seneca's lingering death.[180] He records the effect of numbness produced in Seneca's extremities by the hemlock and his suffocation in a vapour bath:

Seneca interim, durante tractu et lentitudine mortis, Statium Annaeum, diu sibi amicitiae fide et arte medicinae probatum, orat provisum pridem venenum, quo damnati publico Atheniensium iudicio exstinguerentur, promeret; adlatumque hausit frustra, frigidus iam artus et cluso corpore adversum vim veneni. postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit, respergens proximos servorum addita voce libare se liquorem illum Iovi liberatori, exim balneo inlatus et vapore eius exanimatus. sine ullo funeris sollemni crematur: ita codicillis praescripserat, cum etiam tum praedives et praepotens supremis suis consuleret (15.64.11.26-34).

The biographical detail of Seneca's suicide in 65A.D. is recorded in early modern texts such as Richard Rainolde's *The Foundation of Rhetoric* (1563), where he relates that Seneca cut his veins in the bath.

In Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632) the father is seen, like Thyestes, to contemplate suicide when he realises that he has consumed his family (ll.1527-9). Oromasdes delays because if he stabs himself he would in turn being killing once more the siblings that he has already eaten:

Gladio recludam visura, at sic coniugem
Natosque vulnerabo, propter vos mihi
Parcam nocenti! (ll.1538-40).

However, Oromasdes cannot determine his fate because he has drunk from the cup in which Atossa had poured poison.

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[180]ed. used, Tacitus,(1986), *Cornelii Taciti Libri Qui Supersunt, ed., Borzsak, S., and Wellesley, K.:Pars Secunda: Ab Excessu divi Augusti:Libri XI-XVI* (Leipzig).

1766-70 The blood yet warme euen from the wounde/ I shoulde in sight of thee/ Even in thy iawes have shed, that thou/ the bloud of them mightst drynke/ That lyued yet:

Atreus voices his dissatisfaction with his revenge plan. He expresses his feeling that a limit has been imposed upon his revenge. This leads Atreus to articulate that Thyestes could have consumed the blood whilst the children lived. The action of drinking also features in the depiction of Atreus' projected revenge in *MT* (1674). He expresses that his revenge would appear *more Tragical* if Thyestes were to fall *dead drunk* at his feet:

But still to mak't more Tragical,
Thyestes at my feet shall fall;
Dead drunk with double lanted Ale,
In which I le scrape my left Thumb nail (ll.581-4).

Wright employs the reference to the over-consumption of alcohol because it provides an opportunity for humour with the depiction of the behaviour of the drunkard. The motif of alcohol may have been developed in Wright's text because it explores the traditional association of comedy and festivity.

The avenger's discontent with his actions is echoed by Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* (1590). At 5.1.ll.141ff. he expresses his frustration that he cannot continue to execute further terrible deeds:

Tut, I have done a thousand dreadful things
As willingly as one would kill a fly,
And nothing grieves me heartily indeed
But that I cannot do ten thousand more (5.1.ll.141-4).

In these lines Aaron reveals that he shares Atreus' lack of remorse over the acts that he has performed.

In Alabaster's *Roxana* (1632) the influence of Seneca's depiction of the insatiability of the avenger is clear. In order to portray this condition, Alabaster imitates Seneca's association in *Thyestes* between the victim witnessing the heinous deeds of the revenger and the revenger's satisfaction. Atossa discloses her feeling that her revenge is insufficient because the king did not observe the slaughter of his wife and children (ll.1540-56):

Te nesciente dexteram mersi in latus,

Et corda fibris rupta compressi manu,

Animasque quiddam stridulum et fissos sonos

Singultientes sanguine extinxi suo (ll.1540-3).

1851 now prayse I well my handes:

Atreus rejoices that he is responsible for the torment that Thyestes has expressed upon learning that Atreus has murdered his children. Marston appears to have employed his own translation of *nunc meas laudo manus* in 5.3. of *Antonio's Revenge* (1599) when he depicts the delight that Pandulpho experiences when he sees Piero weep:

...Now do I glorify my hands (5.3.1.75).

[for exultation of avenger see 1.1478].

1878-9 the gods shall all/ of this reuengers bee:

Thyestes reveals that he places his trust, however misguided, in the gods. He expresses his desire for the gods to exact divine retribution upon Atreus for his crimes. In contrast to the formal language of Seneca, Thyestes' response to Atreus' confession of the evil in *MT* (1674) that he has perpetrated comprises of a series of colloquialisms:

Now I could puke-

O Cuckold Cook to Treat me thus!

O hated Hang-dog to hang Puss!

O Son of an old rotten Whore! (II.656-9).

Wright in *MT* ridicules the tragic response further. In Seneca's text the final words spoken by Thyestes condemn his brother to destruction, whereas in *MT* Thyestes' last words inform his brother that he is going to fall asleep:

I'le sleep and tell you more (I.660).

It seems likely that his desire for sleep is the result of his inebriation.

The belief that revenge is a divine right permeates plays of the early modern period. This is illustrated in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589, printed without date c.1592, reprinted with additions in 1602). Hieronimo discusses the concept of divine justice but it is coloured by Christian sentiments. He reveals in 3.13 his belief that justice is a divine right:

Ay, heaven will be revenged of every ill;

Nor will they suffer murder unrepaid.

Then stay, Hieronimo, attend their will:

For mortal men may not appoint their time (3.13.II.2-5).

Hieronimo though, does exact personal venegance but he attempts to validate his action by expressing his belief that the gods support him:

Why, then I see that heaven applies our drift,

And all the saints do sit soliciting

For vengeance on those cursed murtherers (4.1.II.32-4).

From this point in the play onwards private justice is associated with the justice of heaven.

Divine retribution also features in Samuel Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* (1598). In this Senecan play, Octavia at II.1024-1311 expresses that she will not seek revenge for Antony's faithlessness because she believes that the

heavens will avenge this wrong.[181] She discloses that this belief is founded upon the tenet that vengeance as a result of subjection to passion merely serves to dishonour the individual. Thus, she comments that the decision to exact vengeance illustrates the frailty of the human condition.

The retributive aspect of divine power is explored in Snelling's *Thibaldus* (1640; no evidence that play was ever performed; published ten years later as *Pharamus siue Libido vindex*). Thibaldus at ll.1147ff. appeals to the gods, like Thyestes, in their capacity to impose punitive measures:

"Peccata Regum, qui vices supplent Deum,
"Divina Nemesis omnibus flagris ferit (ll.1147-8).

In these lines, Thibaldus declares that he is placing his trust in the gods to exact revenge upon Pharamus.

1882-3 But vext to be I thee the whyle,/ geeue to thy children all:

The conclusion of the Senecan text fails to offer any sense of poetic justice or of life pursuing its normal path. Seneca closes *Oedipus* with the restoration of normal life. This is illustrated by Oedipus at ll.1052ff.. He tells that his flight will produce *mitior caeli* (l.1054) because it will bring an end to the pestilence that blights the land:

...ite, ferte depositis opem;
mortifera mecum vitia terrarum extraho.
violenta Fata et horridus Morbi tremor,
Maciesque et atra Pestis et rabidus Dolor,
mecum ite, mecum. ducibus his uti libet! (ll. 1057-61).

The rejection of the normal operation of life in *Thyestes* is used to portray the lasting disruptive power of passion. *MT* (1674) also closes with a lack of the sense of reparation for the deeds enacted. Seneca's text and the

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[181]Brandon, [1598], *Virtuous Octavia* (Malone Society,1909).

burlesque of Wright both close with triumphant vice asserting itself. This is illustrated in the burlesque when Atreus exclaims *Io, Victoria* (l.661), and employs comparisons with *Caesar* (l.664) and a *High Constable* (l.668). The use of *Io* implies a mocking of the tragic form- in tragedy it is the classic cry of pain. The utilisation of the tragic cry to express the triumph of the avenger is incongruous and therefore amusing. This manifestation of the happiness of the triumphant avenger accords with the sense of festivity that usually concludes a comedy. In the Senecan text the beast is depicted at his moment of satisfaction- in this respect, the close is similar to that of Seneca's *Medea*. *Scelus* is punished in *Agamemnon*, *Medea* and *Phaedra*,, but in the *Thyestes scelus* seems to receive no punishment.

1884-2007 <u>The fourth Sceane,/ Added to the Tragedy/ by the Translatour:</u>

The Senecan text has closed without a sense of an ordered world being re-established. Heywood's addition to the text expresses Thyestes' desire for the appropriate punishment to be dealt to Atreus. The Christian sensibilities of the Elizabethan audience dictated that the perpetrator should be punished for his crimes. Hooper in his *Hooper on the Commaundments* (1560) paraphrases Christ' words from Matthew 27 verse 52 that the individual who strikes with the sword *wyth the sweard shall perysshe*.[182] In his discussion of the first commandment Hooper relates that private revenge is heinous. This leads Hooper to offer an account of the violence that accompanies an individual's desire for vengeance:

Which begynne wyth blowes, then foloweth hurtyng of some membres of the body, or clene destructyon of it, at the laste murder of the hole bodye.

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[182]Hooper, (1560), *Hooper on the Commaundments* (London): see 'The fyrste commaundment: Thou shalt not kill'.

Some kyll wyth the sweard, some with poyson, some with inchauntementes.....

His condemnation of individuals that decide for themselves to exact vengeance discloses his belief that justice should be meted out by officials within society. In the Bodleian library a copy of Hooper's commentary can be found bound with an edition of Heywood's *Thyestes* - this is not significant when one considers that the expense of binding dictated that texts were often bound together, but it may indicate that an individual believed that these two texts should be consulted together. In Renaissance plays one sees individuals receiving the suitable penalty for their misconduct. The punitive measures that are depicted in the plays restore a level of sanity to the chaos that is the play. The playwrights demonstrate that the perpetrator of crime is morally unacceptable to society.

The element of atonement for crime is presented in R.W's *Tancred and Gismund* (1591-2). In the play the father makes recompense for the part that he played in the death of his daughter's lover. His daughter's suicide prompts Tancred to acknowledge that his wrath caused the death of Gismund and Guiszard:

For me she grones, by me my daughter dies,

I, I, the author of this Tragedie (ll.1792-3).

His appeal to the heavens for their anger to be directed towards himself recalls Thyestes' desire for the heavens to strike him down. The pale cheeks of his daughter urge him to contemplate the insufferable nature of a life without Gismund:

Wilt thou now liue wasted with miserie?

Wilt thou now liue that with these eies didst see

Thy daughter dead? wilt thou now liue to see

Her funerals, that of thy life was stay? (ll.1803-6).

Tancred's consideration of his death as vengeance for the dead lovers suggests that his death will restore a sense of order to the world:

But I can wreake due vengeance on that head

That wrought the means these louers now be dead (ll.1812-3).

The closing lines of his final speech of the play reveal that Iulio is to effect the king's death. He tells Iulio that he is to *Redouble stroke on stroke* (l.1837) and to drive the sword deeper into his heart (l.1838). Before his death, Tancred expresses his wish to enter death in blindness so that he may enjoy *euerlasting night* (l.1849). This touch reminds one of the blinding scene in Seneca's *Oedipus* (ll.965ff)- both scenes suggest that this blindness will prevent the individual from facing those whom they have wronged. In *Oedipus* , unlike in *Tancred and Gismund*, blindness is welcomed and he wears it in the same manner that he wore the royal crown:

iuvant tenebrae. quis deus tandem mihi

placatus atra nube perfundit caput? (ll.999-1000).

At the close of *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1607/8) the revengers, Vindice and Hippolito, are made to pay for their murder of Lussurioso and the three nobles (ll.41ff.). Antonio orders the guards to seize Vindice and Hippolito and to *Bear 'em to speedy execution* (5.3.ll.102). Vindice's final speech (beginning 5.3.ll.107ff.) reveals the avenger accepting the punitive measures that Antonio has imposed upon him:

'Tis time to die, when we are ourselves our foes (5.3.l.110).

His acceptance is marked by his articulation of the standard maxim that murderous acts do not lie concealed for long. He uses the example of himself as Piato to illustrate this sentiment:

Now I remember, too, here was Piato brought forth a

knavish sentence once; no doubt, said he, but time will

make the murderer bring forth himself (5.3.ll.115-7).

One should note that Vindice's acceptance of his fate is marked by a high degree of flippancy.

At the close of Alabaster's *Roxana* (revised and published 1632) the playwright attempts to establish a semblance of order. The murderess Atossa is sentenced to hell by Oramasdes (ll.1582-91). The playwright develops the motif of the chastisement of the perpetrator in his depiction of Atossa confessing her guilt and accepting punishment (ll.1605-26).

Thus, it can be seen that perpetrators of crime in Senecan early modern revenge tragedies, as a general rule, meet with death. The notable exception to this is Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1599). In 5.3. the senators do not sentence Pandulpho and Antonio to suffer the torments of damnation, but hail their murderous acts as the work of divine ministers. This is illustrated by the second senator at 5.3.ll.127ff.:

Bless'd be you all; and may your honors live,
Religiously held sacred, even for ever and ever (5.3.ll.127-8).

At the close of the play the protagonists are held sacred. In 5.3. Pandulpho expresses the nature of the fate that awaits both himself and Antonio:

.....we will live enclos'd
In holy verge of some religious order,
Most constant votaries (5.3.ll.151-3).

Antonio's comment at 5.3.ll.154ff. marks his acceptance of the fate that awaits him:

First let's cleanse our hands,
Purge hearts of hatred, and entomb my love (5.3.ll.154-5).

The avengers do not meet with death, but are seen to reject honours and renounce public life for a life of penitence and monastic seclusion. A contemporary audience, hostile to Catholicism, may have regarded this a suitable punishment.

It seems opportune for us to consider the circumstances of this play's production, and thus that the drama may be a parody of the revenge play. This, in turn, will reveal a further explanation for Marston's deliberate decision to flout the convention which dictates that Antonio should be punished. [for further discussion of the anti-hero see II.299-300]. Foakes' article (1962) suggests that an analysis of the production technique results in a different interpretation of the scenes of mutilation and cannibalism.[183] The central argument focuses on the stylistic elements of the play, suggesting that the bathos of the satirical melodrama effects a satire on traditional literary and theatrical practices rather than against 'folly and vice'. This is illustrated with reference to Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (acted c.1589) and Marston's association with a group of child actors. The former is employed to clearly highlight Marston's attempt to mock the form of the revenge play. Thus, Antonio, like Kyd's Hieronimo, enters holding a book of Seneca's work and shares Hieronimo's disdain for Seneca's didactic message; and in the final scene of *Antonio's Revenge* (1599), Marston presents a conscious imitation of Hieronimo's revenge. The parodistic technique is heightened by the use of child actors whose ravings fail to move an audience to demand justice at the close of the revenge drama. The serious potential of their speeches are undercut by their lack of emotional foundation and the presence of bathos. It soon becomes apparent from Foakes' article that Marston's concept of playwriting is dominated by a derisive and distorted sense of humour.

We will now return to a discussion of the emphasis on revenge and the torments of hell in Heywood's additional speech. They can be viewed as a reflection of those areas which were of greatest interest to the Elizabethans. This expression of Thyestes' desire for vengeance adds thematic unity to

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[183]Foakes, R.A., (1962), 'John Marston's Fantastical Plays: Antonio and Mellida and Antonio's Revenge': *Philological Quarterly 41* :pp.229-39.

the play- sentiments for revenge open and close the tragedy. He asks the heavenly powers to direct their revenge towards his brother first. In the closing lines Thyestes declares his desire for the deities to throw down a thunderbolt upon him in punishment for his part in the crime. The concern for thematic unity dictated, to a certain degree, Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas* (1559). In the *Preface* the translator comments that his additions serve to supplement the text where it is wanting.[184] Heywood inserts a lengthy diatribe by Achilles' ghost at the beginning of act two, and he introduces a new Chorus at the close of the first act.[185] Achilles' speech expresses a demand for vengeance that will direct the plot. The feeling of the Trojans' torment at the hands of inescapable fate that Achilles verbalises in these lines permeates the entire play. The Choral addition echoes Seneca's belief that man is dominated by Fate- they illustrate this concept by citing the examples of Aegeus, Jason, Pelias and Tereus. The theme of the subjection of man to Fate is echoed throughout the play. Heywood's addition to the text could be viewed as an indication that he wished for stage production. [186] The depiction of the Thyestes' imagination on a journey through the Underworld at the opening of this scene adds a note of melodramatic colouring. Details are offered concerning the inhabitants and scenery of the lower world- he refers to the Gorgons, the Harpies, Lymbo lake, Pluto's palace, Cerberus and the Stygian pools. He refers to the *grysly ghosts of hell* (l.1885) and the *deepe and dredfull denns,/ of blackest Tartare* (ll.1886-7). The lines attempt to capture the bombastic nature of Seneca's style and to establish the theme of darkness that colours the addition. These references to the features of the Underworld show the playwright's use of alliteration. It is

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[184]Heywood, op.cit.: sig. A4 ll.20-22.
[185]O'Keefe, op. cit.: pp.61ff. on Heywood's additions.
[186]ibid.: pp. 227-8.

feasible to suggest that Heywood employed this poetic device in order to stress the abominable nature of the location. The use of alliteration is more marked in the addition than in his translation of the body of Seneca's text- for example, at l.1890 *bleedyng browes*, at l.1898 *monster more mysshapte*, at l.1964 *filthy floud of Lymbo lake*.[187] Thus, the addition offers the playwright the opportunity to display his ability as a poet.

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[187]ibid.:pp.203-4 on alliteration.

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